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NOTES AND COMMENTS

THE Social Science Research Council of the United States proposes to begin in March next the publication of *Social Science Abstracts*, which will appear monthly thereafter. The purpose is to provide brief summaries of new material as promptly as possible after it is published. The fields of cultural anthropology, economics, history, human geography, political science, sociology, and statistics are included in the scheme. Several hundred scholars from various nations have agreed to co-operate in the preparation of the abstracts, of which some fifteen thousand a year will be printed at the beginning. Periodicals of all languages will be searched, and already some eighteen hundred have been placed on the list. The abstracts will vary in length from several hundred words to the mere citation of a title in less important articles. Elaborate cross-references and indices will be provided. Under thoroughly competent direction it is expected that *Social Science Abstracts* will assist readers in keeping abreast with the ever-increasing, and well-nigh bewildering, volume of newly printed materials in the social sciences. It should be especially useful in enabling students to keep in touch with investigation closely related to, and yet outside of, their own special fields of interest.

Students of Canadian history were greatly interested in the announcement as to the historical records of the Hudson's Bay Company, made by Mr. Charles V. Sale, the governor, at the meeting of the general court of the Company held in London on June 26 last. Mr. Sale referred to the immense collection of

records in possession of the Company, touching almost every phase of the history of the Canadian West from the seventeenth century to the present day. Until recently much of this material was scattered throughout Canada, but, with the provision of space in the new buildings of the Company in London, these documents were taken overseas, and the work of classifying them, together with the documents preserved in England, was begun. Mr. Sale concluded:

We are continually receiving inquiries regarding events prior to 1870, and have long felt it a duty to make our information available to the people of Canada. Now that circumstances make it possible to do so, we propose to commence publication, and we have arranged to do this under the auspices of the Canadian History Society in the British Isles. In undertaking this publication we shall not only satisfy an oft-expressed desire, but shall also do justice to the memory of our predecessors in the Company.

That a company still engaged most actively in business should have in its archives records dealing with such a vast area and of such great historical value provides an almost unique situation. The publication in the near future under competent editorship of important documents from the storehouse of the Company is eagerly awaited, while it is hoped that scholars engaged seriously in research work may have access to other materials which are unlikely to be printed soon, if at all.

The Council of the Royal Colonial Institute, which some time ago resolved to set aside a small sum annually to facilitate the publication of original monographs relating to the British Empire, announces that a further award is to be made early in the new year. Manuscripts should be forwarded for consideration to the secretary of the Institute, Northumberland Avenue, London, England. The third volume in the Imperial Studies Series, as it is called, has just been published.

The first article in this issue, by Professor A. S. Morton of the University of Saskatchewan, suggests a revision of the view that La Vérendrye was primarily concerned with the work of

exploration. The second article by Miss Helen I. Cowan of Brampton, Ontario, throws light on a hitherto unknown phase of Lord Selkirk's activities in America. The discussion of immigration to Canada in the eighteen-forties is by Miss Frances Morehouse of Hunter College, New York City. Mr. F. D. McLennan of Cornwall, Ontario, has contributed the note on David Thompson, and Professor H. A. Innis of the University of Toronto that on Peter Pond. The annual list of publications in archaeology and ethnology has been again compiled by Professor T. F. McIlwraith of the University of Toronto.

LA VERENDRYE: COMMANDANT, FUR-TRADER, AND EXPLORER

"FIRST and always a man of action, while others talked of the Western Sea and wrote learned memoirs as to the best means of reaching it overland, he set out to find a way, devoting to the task not one or two years but a lifetime." These words express in quiet terms the prevailing adoration of La Vérendrye, the hero who strained every nerve to reach the Western Sea. We have writers, colourists by nature, who are only satisfied with flaming tints. Their picture of La Vérendrye simply accentuates this same view of the hero, as a man whose soul burned to "blaze" the trail to the Western Sea. Take the following example:

Born at Three Rivers where the passion for discovery and Radisson's fame were in the very air and traders from the wilderness of the Upper Country wintered, young Pierre Gaultier de Varennes de la Vérendrye at the ambitious age of fourteen determined that he would become a discoverer. . . . At the lonely post of Nepigon vague Indian tales came to de la Vérendrye of 'a great river flowing west' and 'a vast, flat country devoid of timber' with 'large herds of cattle.' Ochagach, an old Indian, drew maps on birch bark showing rivers that emptied into the Western Sea. De la Vérendrye's smouldering ambitions kindled. . . . Carried away with the passion for discovery that ruled his age he took passage in the canoes bound for Quebec. . . . The Governor favored the project of the Western Sea.

We need not complete the picture. The object of this paper is to view these opinions of La Vérendrye in the light of the contemporary sources, including the letters and journals of the man himself.

Certified copies of the known material on La Vérendrye, taken from the originals in the French National Archives, are to be found in the Public Archives of Canada at Ottawa. One journal, that of the journey to the Mandans, 1738-9, appears to be an original. The letters and papers going from Canada to France are found in the *Correspondance Générale* in the two series

known as C'A and C'E. Other such letters are found in the *Collection de St. Méry* usually quoted as Fiii. Documents and letters going out from the king or his minister to the colony are in the Archives Nationales, in the *Archives de la Marine*, what we would call the records of the Colonial Office, quoted as series B. One journal, La Vérendrye's report for 1733-4, has strayed into the series known as *Affaires Etrangères*, which would be represented by our phrase, records of the Foreign Office.¹ All this material makes it possible to put our conventional idea of La Vérendrye to the test, and to reach out towards a fresh interpretation of his career.

These documents offer us three views of our subject. First, we get La Vérendrye's successive views of himself, which may be found in the superscriptions of his journals as follows:

Laveranderie, who has been honoured with his [the governor-general's] orders for the establishment of several Posts to prepare the way for the discovery of the Western Sea [1734].²

La Veranderie, Lieutenant of the troops and Commandant of the Posts of the West [1736].³

Laverendrye Lieutenant of a company of the Detachment of the marine in Canada, charged with his [the governor-general's] orders for the Discovery of the Western Sea [1738].⁴

Next, we have the view which Maurepas, minister of marine and the colonies came to take in his despatches to Beauharnois, the governor-general of Canada:

All that has come to my knowledge as to the causes of that misadventure, [the massacre of the French by the Sioux at the Lake of the Woods, 1736,] confirms the suspicion, I have always entertained and which I have not concealed from you that the beaver trade had more to do than anything else with the Sieur de la Vérendrye's Western Sea expedition [April 22, 1737].⁵

I am not at all sure that the zeal of the Sieur de la Vérendrye is as pure as you imagine, or that the suspicions I have already con-

¹Where possible reference is given below to the documents as printed and translated in Lawrence J. Burpee (ed.), *Journals and letters of La Vérendrye and his sons* (Toronto, 1927), published by the Champlain Society. In cases of documents not included in Mr. Burpee's collection, reference is given to their location in the Public Archives at Ottawa.

²Burpee, *Journals and letters*, 133.

³*Ibid.*, 213.

⁴*Ibid.*, 290.

⁵B 65, f.407v.

ceived, and have not disguised, will not turn out to have been justified [April 23, 1738].¹

It is to be hoped that that officer [La Vérendrye] will succeed in removing the suspicions for which, up to the present, he has given cause [1739].²

Again to the new governor-general, La Jonquière:

You know that several years ago an attempt was made in Canada to discover the Western Sea by the overland route. The first to be entrusted with the enterprise was the Sieur de la Vérendrye, captain in the troops. He established a number of posts in the far West which enabled him to do a considerable business with the surrounding tribes; but, content with the profits accruing from this trade, that officer was very slack in pursuing the discovery which ought to have been the principal object of his efforts [1747].³

Finally, we have the view of Beauharnois, the governor-general, who consistently upheld La Vérendrye's honour before Maurepas himself. He always speaks of our subject as "the officer charged with the discovery of the Western Sea", but insists that, though the main object of the enterprise is being hindered by untoward events, La Vérendrye's posts are extending French influence in the West, cutting off the furs from the English at Hudson Bay, and increasing the commerce of his colony.

Which of these three views of La Vérendrye—the commandant of the western posts, the fur-trader masquerading as an explorer, the explorer eagerly seeking for the Western Sea but held back by untoward events—gives us the true man? How much of each of these descriptions must enter into the picture to make it just?

Pierre Gaultier de Varennes, Sieur de la Vérendrye, born in 1685 at Three Rivers, was the son of the governor of the settlement, the third in importance in Canada at that day. It has been the practice to argue that the traditions of the home town of Groseilliers and Radisson, which was for a period the centre of the continental fur-trade, early fired the soul of Pierre with the desire to explore the West. There is no documentary evidence on the matter either one way or the other. We have to judge the young man by his deeds. So far from first appearing in the West or even in the fur-trade, he comes before us as a soldier of fortune.

¹Burpee, *Journals and letters*, 276.

²*Ibid.*, 361.

³*Ibid.*, 465.

After campaigns on the outskirts of his native colony—against New England and Newfoundland—he sought fame on the battlefields of Europe, and was severely wounded on the field of Malplaquet, 1709. It may be assumed that the impending peace of Utrecht, 1713, and the utter exhaustion of France at the close of the reign of Louis XIV left little hope of advance in the army for a colonial officer of limited means and influence. Hence La Vérendrye's return to Canada. Here he married in 1712, and begat children, four of them sons who were destined to have their share in their father's adventures in the West.

The first documents¹ to bring La Vérendrye clearly before our eyes have to do with a fur-trade post opened by him in 1715 on his ancestral estate at a portage on the River St. Maurice, not far above Three Rivers. Vaudreuil, the governor-general of the time, made a report on the matter to the minister in France. The inhabitants of the town had protested that La Vérendrye was destroying their trade, but inasmuch as his father in 1673 had had such a post, recognized by the government, the son was left in peaceful possession.

Our subject thus appears in the part of fur-trader for the first time. There is no evidence that his fur business or his second residence in the outskirts of a settlement wherein the traditions of Radisson are supposed to have lingered kindled any zeal for western exploration. Some ten years pass before he again comes out clearly to our sight, and then his face is not turned to the West, but towards France. In a correspondence of the minister at home with Governor-General Vaudreuil, we hear of La Vérendrye as one of four officers who have asked leave to cross to France.² They are told that, unless private business makes their journey a definite necessity, they had better spare themselves the expense because it will not bring any promotion beyond what was open to them in the colony.³ It was, doubtless, as a result of this drive for advancement that La Vérendrye was appointed "commandant" at the "Postes du Nord", the northern posts of Nipigon, Michipicoton, and Kaministiquia, where now stands Fort William. The terms under which a commandant held such a post are best explained in the words of Maurepas:

It was long the custom in Canada to hand over to the commanders

¹B 40, f.489 v (1718); C'A 43, p. 53 (Jan. 14, 1721).

²Vaudreuil to Maurepas, Oct. 30, 1724, C'A 36, p. 105; B 48, f.842; C'A 48, p. 49

³Beauharnois to Maurepas, Sept. 28, 1726, C'A 48, p. 125; B 50, f.490 v.

of posts the whole trade and commerce done there, exacting only a small sum by way of farming rent.¹

The only news we have of La Vérendrye's administration of his post is to be gathered from a report by Noyan on the colony at large in 1730,² *i.e.*, at the end of La Vérendrye's command. In the paragraph on the two Posts of the North we are told that their fur-trade is bringing a profit of more than 32,000 livres, that "the officers at these posts only serve their own personal interests", and that the king should reserve the trade for the royal treasury. It does not appear whether this state of affairs had made La Vérendrye's tenure of the post impossible, or to say the least precarious, or whether that officer's vacating the posts for ventures farther west simply offered the opportunity of putting the command on a better basis. What is of importance is that the document went to the hands of the minister, Maurepas, and probably gave him his view that La Vérendrye's chief interest was to make his fortune by traffic in furs.

At Kaministiquia and Nipigon, La Vérendrye was in an area in which the French and the English at Hudson Bay were in competition for the furs trapped by the Indians. He was, also, in a position to gather information, and he did get word of the wealth of furs in the region of forest and lake and stream to the north-west. He made particular enquiries as to the routes to be followed, and heard of a great river which he called the River of the West, and which we may designate for convenience River of the West (No. 1). It is the River Winnipeg flowing from the Lake of the Woods into Lake Winnipeg, a lake which according to the news, stretched east and west, and not north and south as we know it, and was drained at the farther end by the River of the West (our River Nelson). This river was presumed to flow westward into the Sea of the West (the Pacific), and not into Hudson Bay. This assumption seemed to bring the discovery of the route to the Pacific within easy reach. Hence we find two memoirs³ from La Vérendrye to Beauharnois, the governor-general, retailing his information and asking for what?—not to be sent to penetrate to the Western Sea, but to be detailed to build a fort on Lake Winnipeg.

If, subject to His Majesty's good pleasure, you should see fit to

¹Burpee, *Journals and letters*, 467.

²C^hA 52, p. 232.

³The second only is extant.

honour me with your instructions to go and establish a fort at Lake Winnipeg, I shall have the honour in the second year thereafter to give you positive information respecting the Sea in question.¹

This is exactly what is in the mind of Beauharnois when he sends La Vérendrye westwards. It is not as clear in the joint letter of Beauharnois and Hocquart of October 15, 1730,² as it is in a personal note from Beauharnois dated October 24, 1730.³ La Vérendrye is to establish a post for trade—"un poste pour la traite." The governor-general expects to report news of the Western Sea. If there appears a chance of success he will send in merchants who will divert the furs from the English at Hudson Bay for the good of his colony.

In view of the known reluctance of the home authorities to open up new posts which would withdraw the energies of the settlers on the St. Lawrence to traffic with the Indians in the distant forests, and bearing in mind the interest in the search for the Western Sea which had been great in France since 1717, it is hard to avoid the inference that Beauharnois has carefully gilded his despatch with hope of the discovery of the Western Sea in order to secure assent to his establishing a new post which would increase the trade of the colony at the expense of the English Hudson's Bay Company at a time when the French fur trade was threatened with decline. The governor-general did not wait for the consent of the home government, but sent in La Vérendrye to make the new establishment, giving him the usual commandant's monopoly of the fur-trade and some presents in case of any voyage of discovery. Hence it is that that officer describes himself at the head of his journal of 1736 as commandant of the Western Posts.

That this interpretation is correct is borne out by the actions of La Vérendrye in his new command. Had his sole, or even his foremost, aim been exploration, he would have, like La Salle or Sir Alexander Mackenzie, pressed on at once as far as might be to his goal. By the autumn of 1731 he would have been, as his lieutenant, La Jemeraye, actually was, at Rainy Lake. Early next summer he would have reached the far extremity of Lake Winnipeg, only to find that his River of the West (No. 1) flowed into Hudson Bay. But he would have, at the same time, found himself near the mouth of the Saskatchewan river, whose waters

¹Burpee, *Journals and letters*, 63.

²*Ibid.*, 66; C'E 16, p. 255-7.

³C'A 52, p. 175.

would have led him westward to the Rocky mountains without the necessity of guides and with the known language of the Crees on the north almost all the way.

This pressing on to Lake Winnipeg and the River of the West is just what Maurepas expected of La Vérendrye from his memoirs. The minister had submitted these documents to Father Charlevoix, who had been required by the government some ten years before to report on the best route to the Western Sea. Charlevoix replies,¹ with great insight as the sequel proved, that the establishments of which La Vérendrye spoke would be of little value for exploration, would be an expense, and "might degenerate into a mere business of fur trading," and that "the discovery of the Western Sea is a matter which should be carried through without a stop." Any post formed should be no more than an encampment for the winter and for collecting information. Maurepas forwarded a copy of this report to Beauharnois² and said in a letter to the governor-general and the intendant dated April 10:

I have considered with pleasure the enterprise of Sieur de la Vérendrye for the discovery of the Western Sea and I have approved of his being charged with it, without His Majesty entering into any other cost than presents for the Indian tribes through which he must pass. . . . I shall await with much impatience news from you of the success of this enterprise.³

However, Beauharnois, as we have seen, had not waited for the minister's leave, but had commissioned La Vérendrye to establish his post for a fur-trade that would be drawn from the English at Hudson Bay. Thus it was that the minister of marine and our subject came to be at cross purposes.

Believing himself to be charged with the main purpose of opening a new post for trade, La Vérendrye entered the country with a considerable body of men, and, let it be noted, their contract for three years did not require and could not force them to go beyond Lake Winnipeg, consequently not to the Western Sea.⁴ Some fifty men in six canoes reached the Grand Portage on August 26, 1731. On the way up, at Michilimakinac, La Vérendrye seems to have heard that there was no commandant

¹C'E 16, p. 271-9; Burpee, *Journals and letters*, 73ff.

²Maurepas to Charlevoix, May, 1731, B55, f.26.

³B 55, f.480 v.

⁴Beauharnois and Hocquart to Maurepas, Oct. 10, 1733, C'E 16, p. 296.

in his recent command, the Posts of the North. At any rate he wrote from that point to Maurepas as follows:

In consequence of the memoirs which I have had the honour to present to the Marquis de Beauharnois . . . he has done me the honour to detach me to go and establish a post at Lake Winnipeg with fifty men and one missionary. Next year I shall have that of informing him very exactly respecting all the particularities of my Journey; and, if he considers it advisable to send me to penetrate into the heart of the west, I shall be ready at once to start with my nephew La Jemeraye, who is my second in command, and my three children whom I have here with me.

I take the liberty of representing to Your Highness that in my present enterprise I am only seeking to carry the name and arms of His Majesty into a vast stretch of countries hitherto unknown, to enlarge the colony and increase its commerce. I therefore humbly beg you to grant me for a period of five years without counting this one the North, that is Kaministikwia and the Nipigon, with exemption from *congé* for the said period, so that I may avail myself of them as entrepôts for the enterprise I have in hand and leave men there with provisions and canoes. The expenses I have incurred, with a few persons who are accompanying me, up to the present, for the establishment of this post, are very considerable. I should not take the liberty of troubling Your Highness were I able to dispense with the north as an entrepôt.¹

According to La Vérendrye's report of 1732 as repeated by Beauharnois, his crew mutinied at Grand Portage, and he had to be contented with sending La Jemeraye forward with but three medium-sized canoes to build the post on Rainy lake. He himself was forced to winter at Kaministiquia with the rest of the men.

We are not surprised at the comment on these proceedings conveyed by Maurepas in a letter to Beauharnois dated at Versailles March 24, 1733:

With regard to the enterprise of the discovery of the Western Sea with which Laveranderie is charged, the stopping of this officer at Kamanastigoya would appear susceptible of the suspicion of self-interest; we know beaver is plentiful in these quarters and the attraction of that peltry may well have been the principal reason for his wintering there.²

¹Burpee, *Journals and letters*, 70-2.

²B 59, f.411v.

Evidently the minister felt that La Vérendrye had installed himself in his old post with no more than French leave. But Beauharnois, one of the wisest governors the French ever had in Canada, was wholeheartedly behind his officer's plan as stated in his letter to Maurepas, "to carry the name and arms of His Majesty into a vast stretch of countries hitherto unknown, to enlarge the colony and increase its commerce," and allowed him to use Kaministiquia (but not Nipigon) as his base on Lake Superior for a number of years.

La Vérendrye left Kaministiquia in the next spring, 1732, with the intention according to Beauharnois of building a post, as indeed he did, not on Lake Winnipeg as his memoir would lead us to expect, but on the Lake of the Woods.¹ This fort, St. Charles by name, was really to be the capital of his command, one hundred feet square, with four bastions, a house for the missionary, Father Messenger, a church, another house for the commandant, four main buildings, a powder magazine, and a store house. The surrounding palisade was built of a double row of stakes fifteen feet out of the ground, with gates on opposite sides. The task of building occupied the commandant and his men that autumn. The fort on Lake Winnipeg was not built because the Indians gave adverse reports of the food supply. However, La Vérendrye sent his nephew and son in the spring to explore the lake and to bring the Indians to trade at Fort St. Charles. It was not till 1734 that Fort Maurepas—the first of that name—was built near Lake Winnipeg and on the Red river. That La Vérendrye treated this post as no more than an outlying one is manifest from his ruling his dusky subjects in state at Fort Charles and only personally reaching Fort Maurepas and the shores of Lake Winnipeg on February 25, 1737, nearly five years after entering the country—somewhat slow progress surely for an ardent explorer, but natural enough in a commandant with trusty men under him. The truth seems to be that La Vérendrye was ready enough to explore the River of the West when it appeared to be a great river down which one could travel by canoe much as La Salle made his way down the Mississippi, but at the Lake of the Woods he learned that his River of the West (No. 1) flowed into Hudson Bay. When it appeared that our River Missouri was the River of the West, the commandant showed no eagerness to explore it from across the prairies, but settled down to play the part of commandant of Fort St. Charles and its dependencies.

¹Burpee, *Journals and letters*, 91.

Space forbids our picturing La Vérendrye in action during these years. One incident will be enough. The date is May 9, 1734. The scene is the court yard of Fort St. Charles, whose bastions break through the woodland of the lake made placid by its many isles. Six hundred and sixty dark-skinned warriors, Crees and Monsonis, are packed within the palisades; fourteen chiefs in full attire, feathers and paint, occupy the spot prepared for them. On the other side the commandant has his seat; near him stands his eldest son. In the very centre are the presents the white chief gives to his tawny subjects, children of the French king:

One 50-pound barrel of powder, 100 pounds of ball, 400 gun-flints, fire-steels, ramrods, awls, butcher knives in proportion, and 30 fathoms of tobacco.¹

The ostensible object of the solemn council is to receive the commandant's answer to the request of the warriors that his son go with them to war against the Sioux of the plains. The real issue is the life and death struggle of the Indians of the woods with those of the prairies, who for years have been wearing down the strength of the Crees and the Monsonis. Now at last the tide will turn to victory. As the eyes of the war-scarred chiefs rested on the bastions of the fort, the powder magazine, the great white officer and his son, and most of all on the powder and shot heaped before them, the gleam of coming triumph over their enemies might surely be seen on their countenances. Armed with the guns they had bought of the Frenchmen and equipped with this generous gift of munitions, they will drive back the fierce Sioux to their distant plains, and with peace will come the ease and plenty which a fur-trade post in their midst could bring. This is a momentous day for the hunters of the woods. The council surely opens with more than the usual Indian hush.

La Vérendrye beckons his son to take his place at his side and addresses the intent host. "My children, see what I have prepared for the war; I make you a present of it and you will distribute it amongst you all, except the chiefs." To each of these he gave "two pounds of powder, four pounds of ball, two fathoms of tobacco, one knife, two awls, six flints and one gun-screw." In spite of all this La Vérendrye does not wish the Indians to go to war. Far better that they stay at home to trap and bring their furs to his post. Accordingly he reminds them

¹*Ibid.*, 178.

that in their last campaigns they have been getting the advantage, and entreats them in the name of their father, the French king, to keep the peace. However, as they have determined on war, and have asked to adopt his son, and have him for their war chief, he gives these munitions and trusts the son to them. Two chiefs, Cree and Monsoni, rise in turn to thank him for the confidence he is showing in them in thus trusting them with his offspring. The son next thanks the chiefs for their words. La Vérendrye now rises, presents a tomahawk to the Cree chief, and in true Indian style sings the war chant and recommends them to do their duty well; he tells them of how men fight in France and shows them the wounds of Malplaquet on his body. The council at length breaks up for the feast provided by the commandant for the 660 warriors and their dependants. Soon the happy throng begins the general war song. Surely that day the Lake of the Woods rang with the loudest war cry its rocks and isles had ever echoed back. The grand council closed with a harangue from La Vérendrye on the benefits conferred on his hearers by the French trading their furs on the spot and an exhortation that they must not carry them to the English; the French goods may be a little dearer, but they are better and the French are really friends.

Up to this point the documents show that both La Vérendrye and Beauharnois were intent on expanding the colony and increasing its fur-trade at the expense of the English at Hudson Bay, and that the search for the Western Sea was to wait upon the exigencies of the new command opened up between Lake Superior and Lake Winnipeg. The evidence likewise makes clear that Maurepas, who at no time indicated any appreciation of the value of the territory gained, either for the political or economic interests of the colony under his charge, but who rather had a reputation for an intellectual interest in art and exploration, was impatient to add to his prestige by the discovery of the Western Sea. Accordingly, when La Vérendrye was in Quebec in 1735, Beauharnois tried, while adhering to his policy of expansion, to make possible an exploration which would satisfy Maurepas. He withdrew La Vérendrye from his close connection with the fur-trade by introducing traders who should pay the commandant the usual fees for trading in his command.¹ He then warned La Vérendrye that, if he did not give his entire attention to the discovery of the Western Sea, he might be recalled, and he won from him the

¹*Ibid.*, 203; C'E 16, p. 315.

promise to carry the exploration through to the Mandans on the River of the West (No. 2), our Missouri, in the spring of 1736. First of all, the traders introduced into Vérendrye's command broke up its efficiency. They traded with the Indians where and as they chose and left the forts unprovided for, so that exploration was, to say the least, difficult. Next, La Vérendrye paid the penalty of his action in arming the Indians of his command, for the Sioux now came in to punish him. They found an emergency expedition, made necessary by the slackness of the traders, on its way to Kaministiquia and Michilimakinac for provisions and goods and especially for powder for Fort St. Charles, and they massacred them to the last man on an island in the Lake of the Woods. La Vérendrye's lamentation runs, "In that calamity I lost my son, the Reverend Father [Aulneau], and all my Frenchmen to my lifelong regret." Robbed though he was of his men and with goods none too plentiful in his posts, La Vérendrye had no thought of retreat. On the contrary, he continued to expand his command and increase its trade. In March, 1737, at a great council of Crees and Assiniboinis at Fort Maurepas on the Red river, he arranged for one of his sons to be adopted by the Crees and go with them to the lower parts of Lake Winnipeg to bring them in the spring to Fort St. Charles. He promised the Assiniboinis a fort at the forks of the Red river the next summer. When they offered to guide him there and then to the Mandans, he declined with excuses, but arranged with them to invite the Mandans to come to the forks in the next year and bring horses with them.¹ One infers that he did not appreciate the prospect of the journey on foot across the prairies to the Missouri.

When La Vérendrye came to Quebec in the winter of 1737-8 the governor-general, who without any doubt set great store upon the new command, the Posts of the West, busied himself once more in trying to wedge in the exploration to the Mandans and the River of the West (No. 2). He extracted from his officer a promise to go so far during the very next winter (1738-9),² and warned him that if he came down again he would not return.³ Moreover, from the fact that during this year the traders followed close on the explorer's footsteps and worked in harmony with him, we may infer that Beauharnois dealt faithfully and sternly with them also.

¹Burpee, *Journals and letters*, 251ff.

²*Ibid.*, 273.

³*Ibid.*, 271.

Now at last La Vérendrye showed the true manner of an explorer. He passed from post to post as rapidly as might be, and reached Fort Maurepas on September 22. On October 3, he was beyond the then limits of his command ready to build a fort, La Reine by name, at the site of the present Portage la Prairie. It was built with a true eye to the expansion of the colony and to the fur-trade, for the Assiniboin of those parts were received as the children of the governor-general, and the fort was built across their path to Hudson Bay. At the same time the exploration was not forgotten. La Vérendrye passed as soon as might be over the prairies to the Mandans, reaching them on December 3. Their first fort was on a small stream in mid-prairie some distance (*un peu éloigné*) from the River of the West. It was probably at the bend of the Souris river, and the five other forts were probably where the Missouri turns definitely to the south. La Vérendrye went no further than the prairie fort, but delegated to his son the Chevalier, but twenty-one years of age, the duty of viewing the river. It surely shows a significant incuriosity on the part of La Vérendrye that, though so near, he did not now nor apparently at any time himself see this River of the West. When he returned to Fort la Reine, he relegated this exploration in succession to his son Pierre and to his two sons François and Louis Joseph. So long as he was in the upper country, he busied himself personally with the exploration of the basin of Lake Winnipeg and with arranging for new establishments, Fort Dauphin, perhaps on Lake Winnipegosis, where the river flows in from Lake Dauphin, and Fort Bourbon on Cedar lake, the former in a fine fur country and the latter barring the way to Hudson Bay. The exploration by deputies achieved nothing so far as the search for the Western Sea was concerned. It now seems proved that the Chevalier de la Vérendrye got no farther than the Black Hills in South Dakota. The dissatisfaction of Maurepas now expressed itself in a proposal to put a second in command under La Vérendrye, his pay to come out of the commandant's profits in the fur-trade. La Vérendrye asked to be relieved on the grounds of illness. But, before the intrepid officer came down in 1744, he had learned of the River Saskatchewan, and more than surmised not only its significance for the rapid expansion of the French domain and French fur-trade at the expense of the English, but also its possibilities in the search for the Western Sea.

Official Canada did not fail to understand and to appreciate

the achievements of the commandant of the Western Posts. As early as 1746 the governor-general was urging his re-appointment. With this practically certain in 1748, La Vérendrye's sons went into the interior and established Fort Paskoyac, at the present Le Pas, a point well chosen to bar the Indians of the Carrot river valley and the Saskatchewan on their way by Moose lake, the Minago river, and Cross lake to York Factory on Hudson Bay. When La Vérendrye was re-appointed to the command of the Western Posts, he still adhered to what had been his policy from the beginning, for he describes himself as under orders "to continue the establishment of posts and the exploration of the West," the establishment of posts being significantly to the fore. The exploration now envisaged as possible was no longer on foot over boundless prairies with endless difficulties from which La Vérendrye had persistently shrunk, but was very much what he had expected of the River of the West (No. 1), which he had believed to be a waterway leading westward from the end of Lake Winnipeg. Governor-General La Jonquière's sketch of his officer's plans for exploration shows that hope was now centred on the River Saskatchewan:

It is to-day the most convenient route by which to pursue the discovery of the Western Sea from the ease with which you can transfer your effects thither by canoe, get guides there easily, and have always the same tribe, Cree, to deal with as far as the height of land, which is not the case by the prairie road. There you encounter different tribes, all enemies, and different languages, causes of hindrance and difficulty which occasioned considerable expense formerly to the Sieur de la Vérendrye. He did not know the Paskoyac [Saskatchewan] river at that time.¹

Once more in command of the Posts of the West, before his eyes the long vista of the Saskatchewan stretching up to the height of land whence you pass down to the Sea of the West, La Vérendrye died in Montreal on the sixth day of December, 1749. Throughout his career he played the part of the French officer at his best, worthily and with dignity. He regarded it as his first duty "to carry the name and arms of his Majesty into a vast stretch of countries hitherto unknown, to enlarge the colony and increase its commerce." No mere fur-trader this, though in some years the returns of his fur-trade were very great. Nonetheless the truth is that he threw his wealth back into his com-

¹*Ibid.*, 486.

mand, in council upon council with the Indians, feast after feast, presents heaped up and heaped up again—all to enthrone loyalty to His Majesty in the heart of his savage children of the woods. Had he been allowed to carry out his policy of expansion first and exploration only when it should become feasible, he probably would have been on the Saskatchewan in 1745 and perhaps would have set his eyes on the Rockies before his death. The unworthy suspicions of a colonial minister who was blind to the material progress of the colony under his charge, and who, in his arm-chair at Versailles, impatiently awaited the prestige due to him for the discovery of the Western Sea, blighted the career of a great son of France and hampered the very search on which the minister had set his heart.

ARTHUR S. MORTON

SELKIRK'S WORK IN CANADA: AN EARLY CHAPTER

THE impression has hitherto been widespread that the North American investments of Thomas Douglas, Earl of Selkirk, began in the year 1803, and that they were confined to British territory. It now appears that this date should be shifted back three or more years and the scene for the background of Selkirk's early work set, not in British North America, but in New York state. There, in the year 1800, the young Earl of Selkirk became publicly known as the owner of a tract of land at the mouth of the Great Salmon river on Lake Ontario, which he had acquired for the purpose of land-speculation and colonization.

During the 'nineties, ties between Great Britain and the now independent Thirteen Colonies had gradually been knit up again. Business went hand in hand with diplomacy. While Hammond, the first British minister to the Republic, cautiously broached Grenville's project of the "buffer state," and Colonel John Graves Simcoe, lieutenant-governor of the new British colony of Upper Canada, boldly advanced into the territory about Niagara and the Maumee, American agents in London proceeded to sell the very lands in question. The fierce, patriotic energies of the first governor¹ of Upper Canada diverted British emigrants only slightly, and British capital not at all, from the opportunities of the United States. Before John Jay had completed his arrangements with British officials, acquaintances of his, representing Robert Morris and John Constable, had sold over a million acres of western New York state land to prominent Scots closely connected with members of the British government. Within a few months of the handing over of Fort Oswego to the United States, the mouth of the Great Salmon river nearby was purchased for the Selkirk estate.²

¹For a suggestive point of view in regard to Simcoe, see S. F. Bemis, *Jay's Treaty* (New York, 1923), 123-8.

²F. B. Hough, *A history of Jefferson County* (Albany, 1854), 63; Johnson, *Oswego County*, 52. Johnson believed that Selkirk intended to found at the port "a great commercial emporium." See also, Land Office, Albany, N.Y., *Book of Deeds* 36,

It was this train of Anglo-American events, laid while the Honourable Thomas Douglas still occupied himself mainly with study and travel, that helped to fire the imagination which eventually swept the young earl along into an adventurous career in the colonization of the British North American West. In 1797 the death of his sixth and last brother made Thomas Douglas the family heir. Two years later his father died, and so, in 1800, at the age of twenty-nine, the young man came into his full title and estates. In the same year an act permitting aliens to hold land in New York state, put through by the efforts of land speculators—among them Alexander Hamilton, attorney for the Holland land company, and Charles Williamson, Scottish agent for the British investors¹—enabled Selkirk to take over in his own name the tract on the Great Salmon river.²

The year 1800 saw, also, the emergence of another interest that was to become a guiding motive in Selkirk's life work—his concern for the welfare of the working classes in the British Isles. Since 1787 the Highland Society of Scotland had been giving a grave publicity to the emigration problem that had long been the talk of the Highlands. In 1792 and 1793 Walter Scott and the Honourable Thomas Douglas made the first of those Highland visits that were to prove momentous in providing a living for the Highlander. By casting over the Lake Country his enchanting glamour of romance the one was to do much to open the tourist trade: the other, sensing the inevitable, was soon to give respectable countenance to the emigrant trade.

Meanwhile the French Revolution had furnished a new topic for the Edinburgh students' clubs. Fortified, possibly, by the

p. 347. For the sales to Scots "closely connected with members" see note 13 below. William Constable, who with Alexander Macomb owned most of the northern counties, made the Selkirk sale. The holding agent was a granddaughter of Lieutenant-Governor Cadwallader Colden of New York, Henrietta Maria Colden, *née* Bethune, a Scottish woman, sister-in-law of the Tory Loyalist, Colonel Archibald Hamilton, who died in Edinburgh in 1795. She appears to have retained her share of the Colden estates in New York State, although she went to reside in Bath, England, made a good impression upon the Royal Commission which considered the Loyalist claims, and drew a British pension!

¹Orsamus Turner, *History of the Pioneer Settlement of Phelps and Gorham's Purchase* (Rochester, 1870), 273; P. D. Evans, *Holland Purchase* (1924), p. 209. Charles Williamson, "a man of considerable influence with the politicians of western New York was easily induced to throw his weight in favour of the measure." Very easily, according to other accounts.

²Oswego County Clerk's Office, Oswego, N.Y., *Oneida Records* 1, p. 144.

Club's philosophic talent for "doffing the world aside,"¹ Selkirk appears to have maintained, for a time, an attitude of calm detachment. But when, in the years which elapsed between the death of his brother and that of his father, he saw the Irish rebellion break out, only to be throttled down into sullen despair, his feelings were fully roused. Under the inspiration of this Irish need, he poured out the first of that stream of colonial schemes which was to flow almost uninterruptedly from his facile pen.

Bearing the title "A Proposal tending to the Permanent Security of Ireland," this scheme appeared in the British colonial department in the winter of 1801-2.² In return for applying to Ireland the Scottish method of relief—that of emigration—Selkirk "petitioned" for land in America. The existing possessions of Great Britain in North America he eliminated as unfit for colonization, but he pointed out that a most suitable site might be found in Louisiana. Although the Scottish group which invested in New York state in the 'nineties may have had excuse for knowing, or influencing, the plans of Dundas and the Pitt government, it is not clear why Selkirk should have believed that the new ministry might obtain Louisiana in the "haste and secrecy" of "the negotiation now pending." Either a liking for picturesque map locations or an interest in diplomatic dealings would account equally well for the fact that practically every American situation that Selkirk ever selected lay in an area of international controversy; *vide*, the Great Salmon river, Louisiana, St. Mary's and the Red river with its proposed exit *viâ* the Mississippi.

In the winter of 1802, however, the main obstacle that Selkirk had to face was neither geographic nor diplomatic; it was the determined opposition of the British government to relief for Ireland and assistance for emigration in any form that Selkirk could suggest. Lord Pelham opposed to the Irish proposition every argument possible, including even "some secret view."³ Lord Hobart, secretary for war and the colonies, was silent, although Selkirk begged for the return of his memorial, since it could not be "the wish of government that he should remain pledged to services which they do not intend to accept."⁴ And Dugald Stewart, whose practical advice showed not a little foresight,

¹After leaving college, the members of The Club continued to meet, although less frequently. See Lockhart, *Life of Sir Walter Scott* (London, 1900), I, 129.

²Canadian Archives, *Selkirk Papers*, vol. 51-2, pp. 13893-97.

³*Ibid.*, p. 13902, Conversation with Lord Pelham, April 2.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 13839, Selkirk to Hobart, June 8, 1802.

frankly told the young man that, if he persisted, he would be accused of *encouraging* emigration and that he might better employ his talents at home.¹

In July luck changed. Under certain restrictions, Hobart was willing to agree to a new project—a proposal for lands in Prince Edward Island. By November Selkirk had accommodated himself to the government's wishes. He had abandoned idealistic schemes for the Irish in favour of a plan to engage only Scottish emigrants about to remove to the United States, "in order that his efforts" might be effective in "diverting the current towards His Majesty's Colonies."²

But again negotiations broke down. This time Selkirk saw Addington, and finally played his trump card. On January 25, 1803, he wrote to Hobart, in part, as follows:

Your Lordship is informed that I have entered into terms with a number of Emigrant families, and to induce them to alter their destination, have been under the necessity of making stipulations, which will incur a considerable expense, and by which I shall suffer great loss if I do not make immediate preparations.

Tho' this has been incurred with a view to the public service I do not mean to complain, as I can turn these expenses to very good account by a purchase in the Western Territory of the United States.

But however profitable such a speculation would be, I can assure your Lordship that little short of absolute necessity would make me think of this resource, and that I shall feel most sincere regret in being compelled thus to counteract the very object with a view to which I entered upon the business. That object however is not for an individual to undertake without public aid or any prospect of indemnification; and if His Majesty's Ministers do not think it advisable to make an effort for attracting the Emigrants to our own Colonies, I trust that being thus engaged in this business, I shall not be blamed for proceeding in the only way, in which I can avoid a total sacrifice of my own interest. . . .³

On February 12, Hobart came down to terms. Selkirk had already confessed to Addington that he was being "reduced to an alternative most repugnant" to his feelings. Now he wrote to Hobart that he would omit nothing that could reconcile his plan to the views of his lordship, if that could possibly be done

¹*Ibid.*, p. 13903, Observations on American Plan. Dugald Stewart, 1802.

²*Ibid.*, pp. 13845-6, Selkirk to Hobart, Nov. 30, 1802.

³*Ibid.*, pp. 13847-8.

without involving himself "in absolute loss and unproductive expense."¹

The emigrants sailed for Prince Edward Island in July, and Selkirk followed them in September. But from the maritime colonies he hurried away to the United States. Once there he took his time. From October, 1803, until June, 1804, he was on the move, mainly travelling up and down and across New York state. Four volumes of a diary of no mean size—it contains over 90,000 words—chronicle his impressions. Lest it should be thought that, like Liancourt and other travellers of the period, he devoted himself to social events and local customs, it is necessary to emphasize the fact that, although he everywhere dined with persons socially and politically prominent, for average tastes no diary could be duller! Quality of soils, construction of roads, prices of land, methods of sale and settlement, fill its interminable pages. Selkirk was making a thorough investigation of settlement schemes, and particularly of those developed by his fellow Scots.

These adventures in speculation and settlement, now in their eleventh year, could well serve as models for Selkirk's emulation or rejection. One of them, indeed, displayed so fully every device for promoting settlement later advocated by Selkirk that its influence upon the young colonizer must be admitted. This was the experiment carried on in the Genesee country by Charles Williamson, son of the secretary of the Earl of Hopetoun, a friend of the Selkirk family and a brother-in-law of Pitt's "satrap", Henry Dundas. Williamson had been the agent for three British investors, John Hornby, a retired governor of Bombay, and two influential Scots. Sir William Pulteney, the elder of these, reputed the "greatest landed capitalist" in Great Britain, was by birth Sir William Johnstone, also a connection of the Earl of Hopetoun. The other, who acted at first as a sort of managing director for the trio, was the versatile Patrick Colquhoun, once an emigrant to Virginia, later "the father" of the new industrialized city of Glasgow, and now the organizer of the London police system so useful in Pitt's attempt to "clean up" smuggling on the Thames.

Although, perhaps, a digression here, it is a fact irresistibly tempting that, at a time when the British home secretary, Henry Dundas, was said to have "so decidedly favourable an opinion of

¹*Ibid.*, pp. 13859-60, Selkirk to J. Sullivan, Feb. 13, 1803. Sullivan was an under-secretary in the department.

America",¹ members of the Scottish "gang" should have gone into American land speculation. Moreover, even before their legal title to American property could be assured, they had made liberal advances of cash "in order to accommodate . . . Robert Morris, Esq.", and Patrick Colquhoun, "high sheriff" of London, had agreed to act on the continent as agent for American lands.² Doubtless a natural affinity between American Federalists and British capitalists had been accentuated by the French Revolution. Doubtless British capital was willing to cover its stake in American commerce, even to the extent of strengthening the young Republic by investments in American properties. Yet, if this is so, there must have been a wide divergence of opinion between British investors and the British projectors of that nebulous creation, the "buffer state." On the other hand, British investments, like the Dutch and the French,³ may have been pure speculations fairly sure to win, no matter to whom the game of diplomacy went.

Both Pulteney and Colquhoun had negotiated, also, for lands in the north of the state not far from Selkirk's port at the mouth of the Great Salmon river. There, Colquhoun had made Constable a canny offer of four hundred pounds for "several of the islands near the confluence of the lake and river, and also the small islands lying in the Niauern, or Nivernois Bay, . . . and others . . . which

¹*Rufus King Papers*, N.Y. Hist. Soc., vol. 9, Williamson to King, May 17, 1803.

²*The Conveyance and Minute Book* of the Pulteney, Colquhoun and Hornby investment in the Genesee lands is in the possession of the Ontario County Historical Society, N.Y.; a photostat copy, bound, is in the MSS. Room, New York Public Library, New York City. It contains, besides financial statements showing the progress of the investment and the property owned by the various investors, several land titles, and a very important series of documents revealing the process by which the British capitalists entered into the speculation. For example, a letter of Feb. 15, 1791, signed by William Pulteney and William Hornby, empowering Patrick Colquhoun "to enter into a Treaty with William Temple Franklin" for the purchase of 1,000,000 acres; the articles of agreement between Franklin and Colquhoun; the mortgage to be executed by Robert Morris to protect the investors; Colquhoun's power to sell lands, etc. The Association was to have had one year "to enquire into the situation." The sale, however, was completed in May—a few days after Charles Williamson first appears as a witness. The minutes of April 6, 1791, show Williamson's *own* proposition: he offered to proceed to America, at his own expense, and there act as agent for the investors. He had spent the period of the American Revolution as a prisoner of war in Boston, and early American historians maintain that he was possessed of "a strong desire" to return to America.

³Hough, *op. cit.*, 46 ff., for sales, prospectus, etc., of the French company. Evans, *op. cit.*, *passim*, for the Dutch company.

he represented as including about ten thousand acres, 'and are said to be rocky and overgrown with juniper and other small shrubs, which indicate a poverty of soil.'"¹ Whatever his purpose with islands so strategically situated, the sale was never consummated, and so the 1,000,000 acre purchase in the Genesee country remained his chief concern.

By the time of Selkirk's tour of inspection in 1803, this Genesee tract had seen many vicissitudes since Williamson and his Scottish assistants had taken over the land from Robert Morris, in the winter of 1791-2.² In the spring Williamson's vigorous and ingenious settlement activities had begun. He had surveyed and opened roads, built hotels, schools, and churches, and imported thoroughbred stock as Selkirk early planned to do. He had founded a network of towns, among them Bath which he named for Pulteney's daughter, the Countess of Bath. He had tried to establish in Williamsburgh a colony of Germans sent out by the philanthropic Colquhoun, and when this enterprise failed he had set off on horseback to win over a party of Scots whom Colquhoun had been endeavouring to direct to his Genesee lands. He had written and circulated a pamphlet picturing the Genesee as an ideal destination for European and British emigrants.³ In 1796 he had become a member of the New York legislature; in 1797 he had acted at Big Tree, with Thomas Morris and representatives of the United States, in buying off the Indians whose rights were being invaded by the encroaching settlements.⁴ And at Sodus bay, where his plans for a commercial centre were grandiose, he had come into curt contact with the Upper Canadian government which was attempting to warn him off disputed territory. Apparently Williamson regarded these advances of Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe as invasions of the legal rights of the United States, and represented them as such to his superiors in London. Upon the latter, he urged the necessity of hurrying on an amicable

¹Hough, *op. cit.*, 117, Colquhoun to Constable, June 4, 1792.

²Turner, *op. cit.*, 252, *Conveyance and Minute Book*, N.Y. Pub. Lib., Jan. 1, 1792, statement of the Genesee lands held in trust by Charles Williamson.

³Charles Williamson, *Description of the Settlement of the Genesee Country, in the State of New York* (1799). Williamson was not in the least laggard in urging British emigration to his Genesee lands. "Men of property anxious to secure to their families *estates in America*, will experience great satisfaction in joining their countrymen, perhaps their former friends and neighbours, in such a colony." Considering the Highland Society's efforts to employ the Highlander at home, it is odd, also, that Selkirk should have written that he was "engaged in this business." See note 11.

⁴Evans, *op. cit.*, 188. E. P. Oberholtzer, *Robert Morris* (New York, 1903), 307.

agreement with John Jay,¹ and it is possible, as contemporaries assert, that Pulteney "exerted his influence with the Ministry to serve our country" [the United States].²

Yet before Selkirk's arrival in 1803, Williamson's undertakings had come to their inevitable end. His "hot-bed settlements" had become notorious as the object lesson of an expensive, artificial method not to be followed by discreet investors.³ Although Colonel Robert Troup, of New York, advised the American ambassador in London that Pulteney "deserves well of us all", because he had made the Genesee country "almost to blossom as the rose",⁴ Williamson's forced culture had proved too costly for Sir William Pulteney. From the tract for which Pulteney, Colquhoun and Hornby had paid possibly less than \$350,000, and on which they had expended \$1,374,470.10 they had received \$147,974.83.⁵ They now demanded new agents and substantial returns. Handing over the greater part of his responsibilities to Colonel Troup, and leaving his personal affairs in the hands of Colonel Benjamin Walker of Utica, Williamson sailed for his native land in January, 1803.⁶

From the foregoing it may be seen how instructive were the experiments in settlement which the young earl now passed in review. During October and November, 1803, he travelled up the Hudson to Albany, through the Mohawk to Schenectady, and then across by Utica to look over lands, settlers, cattle, roads,

¹Turner, *op. cit.*, 321. Turner quotes a letter from Williamson to Pulteney: "For my own part, I think it would be doing the government of Great Britain a most essential service, should their intentions towards this country be friendly, to show to their ministry the conduct of Gov. Simcoe; and I write this letter that you may show it to Mr. Dundas, or Mr. Pitt, if you think proper. Their knowledge of me, I am convinced, will give it sufficient weight. If these transactions are in consequence of orders from Great Britain, and their views are hostile, there is nothing further to be said." Wayne's victory and the news of Jay's Treaty soon put an end to these frontier alarms which, it might be added, were very real among the settlers. For Dundas's effort to restrain Simcoe, see Bemis, *op. cit.*, 171, 234.

²Rufus King Papers, N.Y. Hist. Soc., vol. 47, Troup to King, Dec. 5, 1801.

³Evans, *op. cit.*, pp. 216-7.

⁴Rufus King Papers, vol. 47, Troup to King, May 22 and 27, 1801. Troup was always a devoted worker for Jay, and managed his campaigns in western New York.

⁵Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 274.

⁶P. D. Evans, *The Pulteney Purchase*, N.Y.S. Hist. Assoc. Quart. Jour. III, pp. 91-2. Turner, *op. cit.*, 278-9. Williamson's activities did not cease with his return to London. He was at once breakfasting with the "Lord Advocate of Scotland, a near relative of Lady Melville," and attempting "to wait upon" the American ambassador. Later, he was employed by the British government, and died in 1808.

the whole system in operation in the Genesee. In February, he was back again crossing the state, this time from north to south, down to New York city, back again to Albany, over again to the Genesee, and then away across to his own district, near Oswego.¹

For elucidation of the policy pursued by the older generation of Scottish speculators he went straight to headquarters. Colonel Robert Troup, who was now giving his time exclusively to the Pulteney investments, confirmed Selkirk in the "ideas stated as to the Genesee speculation, that the failure arises from the incautious extension." He placed "Sir W. P's whole expenditure at between 3 & 400,000£. Stg."² Colonel Benjamin Walker was questioned especially concerning the comparative merits of lease and sale. The affairs of the French company were discussed and reported in a bad state. Though more stable, conditions in the Holland Purchase did not arouse enthusiasm. Constable's lands on the Salmon river were said to be selling for \$3 and \$4 per acre, but to American not to foreign settlers. Sales in England had fallen off as early as 1801. In short, the first boom of great expectations seemed to be breaking under the disillusionment of practical experience. By May 11, Selkirk's mind was made up. He records the fact in the compressed style characteristic of the diary.

May 10 & 11. Utica. Proposed management of Salmon River lands to Col Walker—said he had none in the neighbd. and inconvnt. but would employ B. Wright, in neighbd. (Constable's) agent for bargains to whom allow 5 per cent—Col Walker wld take Power of Attorney—for deeds—and look after Wit.—wld. charge 7½ per cent as to Sir Wm. Pulteney.

11. Executed ample Power of Attorney to Col. W. to dispose of sd. lands—he promised to enquire first and correspond—thought likely a company might buy altogether.³

Selkirk's interests were clarifying and concentrating. For the time being, his path was clear; he would devote himself to British North American affairs. Walker's hopes, it is true, were not fulfilled. Sales did not begin until 1810 and eight years after

¹Canadian Archives, *Selkirk Papers*, The Diary.

²*Ibid.*, vol. 75, p. 19783.

³*Ibid.*, pp. 19850, 19917-18; *Oncida Records* 1, p. 229, in Oswego County Clerk's Office.

his death Selkirk's executors were still getting rid of the Great Salmon lands.¹ The final closing of the Genesee accounts dragged on even longer, the last conveyance being made only in 1926.² But Selkirk's lesson in American speculation was finished in 1804—perhaps fortunately for him, for the first period of Anglo-American concord was already drawing to an end. The object he had in view, as he himself had written, was “not for an individual to undertake without public aid or any prospect of indemnification.” These advantages Selkirk now hoped to obtain in British North America.

HELEN I. COWAN

¹*Oneida Records, passim.*

²A. C. Parker, *Charles Williamson*, in *Roch. Hist. Soc.*, vol. 6, 1927.

CANADIAN MIGRATION IN THE FORTIES

I. 1840-45

THE movements of people in the middle of the nineteenth century are a striking example of the way in which economic history cuts across the more or less artificial divisions made by political boundaries. The New World offered relief to the Old in a number of ways and places, and those who needed that relief, and could avail themselves of it, took what offered with small regard for political connotations. There is something grimly humorous in the contrast between the conscious nationalism of the migrations planned by government officials and philanthropists, and the headlong movements which actually took place. Emigrants were not as a rule men who could afford political preferences; they wanted to land and to live wherever work and a living could be found. The United States and British North America were really more or less an economic unit, varied and vast but helpfully complementary in their parts, at the very time when political feeling between them was at its most unhappy climax. The history of migration, especially in the nineteenth century, can not be studied on strictly national lines.

The forties are especially interesting because of their sharp contrasts. The first five years illustrate the changes and reactions of normal times; the second five, what may happen when famine stalks in the land. After the abrupt check given migration from the United Kingdom to the New World in 1837-8, because of the business depression in the United States and the rebellion in Canada, the influx grew to a healthy and active yearly addition in 1845. Immigration in the famine years reached a peak, the total in 1847 being about 90,000 as compared with some 44,000 in 1842, which was the second highest annual number during the decade.¹

¹The statements made in this article are based on government reports in the United Kingdom, Canada, and the United States, as well as on other relevant source material mainly in national collections. Records were kept of the emigrants who left the United Kingdom at all officered ports; these records are the basis of British emigration statistics. In Canada there were but two ports, Quebec and Montreal; and in each of the Maritime Provinces only one or two of any importance for migration. The officials in British North America kept careful records, and seem usually to have caught those

In the first half of the decade there was a fairly well balanced emigration from England, Scotland, and Ireland. The numbers in 1840 and 1841 showed a steady increase, and Canadians had high hopes for the future. The years 1842 and 1843 offer an interesting study in cause and effect. In February, 1842, Sir Charles Bagot wrote to Lord Stanley that there would be plenty of work for unskilled labourers during the following summer. The Cornwall canal was to be completed, that from Coteau du Lac to the Cascades begun, and the Lachine canal widened. A lock and dam at St. Ann's rapids were to be finished. Improvements on the Welland canal were already under way, and those on the Gosford road, at Lake St. Peter and on the Bay of Chaleurs were to be begun as soon as the season opened. Roads near Quebec and Montreal required more work for their completion.

The Colonial Office, therefore, encouraged emigration, and over 44,000 came to Canada in 1842. The percentage of illness and death was somewhat higher than before, and the character of the immigrants of the same low average as had prevailed in 1841. Much of the work, which Bagot had so confidently promised, failed to materialize, and by midsummer there was much unemployment and suffering. The Lachine and Grenville canals being finished, the unemployed gathered in the vicinity of Niagara, hoping for work on the Welland. These folk had been patient and law-abiding through a very difficult summer, but with the threat of starvation some lawlessness began to trouble the pastors, Catholic and Protestant, who assumed their care.¹ The streets of Quebec were full of destitute folk, many of them children; and there was no legal provision for their relief.² The Highlanders who had come from Lewis in the preceding year, and had settled in the Eastern Townships, were reported starving in August.³

migrants who purposely or accidentally evaded the officers at British ports, or who left from ports at which there were no port officials. The year 1847 is an exception; in that year not even Canadian records are accurate and adequate. The British reports, however, are still less dependable, for in the time of famine it was impossible for the government to man the many obscure ports from which small vessels, often unseaworthy, slipped out for the perilous westward journey.

¹Constantin Lee, Catholic pastor, and John William Baynes, Presbyterian minister, to Bagot, no date, but received Aug. 22, 1842. Canadian Archives, G 545, No. 1726.

²London *Times* of July 20, quoting Quebec *Mercury* of July 8, 1842.

³Montreal *Gazette*, Nov. 16, 1841. Sherbrooke *Gazette*, Aug. 11, 1842, reprinted in Montreal *Transcript* of Aug. 16, 1842. Citations from Canadian newspapers given in this paper are from the files of Dr. Adam Shortt, to whom most grateful acknowledgment is made.

Employment in the United States, which was counted upon to take care of the overflow of labour, was cut off that year early in the season; those who crossed the border sought in vain for work there. New York state could as a rule absorb all surplus labour from Canada, but it was during that summer suffering from a relapse crisis. Hundreds of immigrants wandered in a pathetic procession from Quebec to Kingston, from Kingston to Niagara, on to Rochester and Utica and Albany, finding their way at last to New York city. Here many of them, disillusioned and discouraged, became beggars on the Battery until they could find a ship that would take them back to the mother country. At the same time, a number of British sailors, who had been employed in the American navy, were dismissed because it had been decided to employ only Americans at that time of threatened war. All these unfortunates returned if possible to England, in the only backwater movement of the decade and one of the few in history.¹ It is estimated that fully 9,500 Britons returned from New York alone in the autumn and winter of 1842-3; and their tales of bitter disappointment must partly account for the decrease in the migration of the next year.²

The number of merchants and small farmers among the immigrants of 1843 remained about what it had been, while the number of labourers was sharply reduced. Therefore the immigration of 1843 was long remembered in Canada as one of unusually high character, a very real asset to the colonies. The whole number of immigrants was reduced to 24,285, of whom less than 10,000 were Irish. The conditions on the ships were vastly improved through the operation of the Passengers Act of 1842.³ Whereas the total immigration was decreased 51 per cent. as

¹One ship, the *Hottinguer*, took 250; the *New York* carried 300. Among them were the dismissed sailors, who received much sympathy on their return to Liverpool. *London Times*, Sep. 20, 1842, quoting a Liverpool paper.

²Third General Report, Colonial Land and Emigration Commission, 1843, p. 23.

³5 and 6 V., c. 107. This law was the first great piece of work of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commission. In addition to the limitation of the number of passengers by tonnage, provided for in the law of 1835, this law limited the number by deck space, a much more pertinent measure. It required berths six feet long and eighteen inches wide, a daily issue of three quarts of water per passenger, and bi-weekly issues of food. Seven pounds of starchy food must be given each passenger each week. The sale of alcoholic spirits to passengers (that is, to steerage passengers, to whom alone the law applied) was forbidden. Passage brokers must be licensed and must give receipts for passage-money. Perhaps the most important provision was that all ships must carry life-boats, which up to that time had not been required. The law was poorly enforced but nevertheless effected an immense improvement in steerage conditions.

compared with that of 1842, the number of cabin passengers increased 30 per cent.¹

The falling off in numbers caught the attention of officials and led to an investigation of causes. British port officers in their replies stressed the political excitement in Ireland at the time, and the unfavourable reports as to employment in America. A few alluded to the return of migrants in 1842 in a worse condition than that in which they had left; to the improved demand for labour in the north of England; to the prospects of railroad building in Ireland; and to British distress at the end of 1842, which had been so severe that funds could not be raised for emigration. The emigration societies of Scotland had been especially hard hit, which probably accounts for an 18 per cent. decrease in the usually steady movement from that land. The prospect of the repeal of the Corn Laws brought a distinct benefit to Canada and the United States, for in 1843 many independent farmers who thought British agriculture doomed, sold their possessions and came to the New World. The Canadian officers attributed the improved conditions in 1843 to the recent Passengers Act, which was a new broom sweeping very clean.²

The migration of 1844 maintained much of the better quality of that of 1843, and the conditions on shipboard were good. The labourers found work in various parts of Upper Canada, and A. C. Buchanan, government emigration agent at Quebec, estimated that three-fourths of all who came into the province remained there. Crops were good, and there was employment on the St. Lawrence canal into the following winter.³

New Brunswick and Canada, both well pleased with two profitable years, reported at the end of 1844 good prospects and employment in sight for the following season. The next summer brought over 25,000 immigrants to Canada, of whom a few had money with which to buy land or a business, and a few were skilled in some trade which gave them ready employment. The

¹Douglas to Metcalfe, Dec. 30, 1843; Colonial Land and Emigration Commission Fourth Report, p. 8.

²*Ibid.*, pp. 9-11.

³Fifth Colonial Land and Emigration Commission Report, *passim*. There were some labour troubles with rioting in the summer of 1844, which led to the passage of the safety act of Mar. 17, 1845 (8 V., c. 6), a temporary measure which might be put into operation by the governor's proclamation. The emergency health act of Apr. 25, 1849 (12 V., c. 8) was another example of legislation caused by immigration; it came of the epidemics introduced by newcomers. It provided for local and provincial boards of health in time of epidemics.

majority were very poor labourers, who required assistance to reach work. There was little complaint this year of bad treatment on board ship, but owing mainly to the conditions in the filthy lodging-houses from which the emigrants left Ireland or England, a great deal of smallpox and typhus developed. There was work enough to make most of the newcomers comfortable in a short time, and Canadians felt satisfied with the results of another year of accession to their growing population and prosperity.

Before passing to the different immigration of the famine years, there are several points which should be made clear with regard to conditions and methods. The route followed by most immigrants in reaching Upper Canada, where the government wished them to settle, led from Montreal, where the landing took place (either directly from the ocean ship, or from a river vessel), up the Ottawa river to Bytown, thence through the Rideau canal to Kingston, and thence by lake steamer to the various stations from which new settlements were built up. The St. Lawrence and lake steamships in 1844 were comfortable and well built, well managed, and made 15 or 16 miles an hour. Transportation was not expensive. In 1844 the fare from Quebec to Montreal was 5s. (reduced to 2s. 6d. in July); from Montreal to Kingston, 4s.; from Kingston to Port Stanley, 7s. 6d. to 10s. Land carriage was 1d. or 2d. a mile, with half-fare for those under 12; children under 3 went free. Prices were somewhat higher in 1845, but fell again in 1846. The government secured contract rates when sending large parties of immigrants "up country."¹

The handling of Canadian immigrants was a model for its time. From about 1832 the North American colonies had charged an immigrant tax of 5s. per passenger, which was suspended in Canada at the beginning of the decade. Buchanan was opposed to it because it led to confusion and hardship. Russell and Sydenham both upheld the idea of the tax, and therefore the Canadian parliament passed, on the day before Sydenham's death, a law imposing a 5-shilling (Canadian currency) tax on all immigrants from the United Kingdom.² Two classes

¹Warburton, G. D., *Hochelaga* (New York, 1846), *passim*, and other contemporary books especially "emigrant guides."

²Canadian Laws, 4 and 5 V., c. 13 (Sep. 18, 1841). The expressed purpose of the tax was to secure a fund for the medical care, transportation and relief of indigent immigrants. Shipmasters were to pay the 5s. for all adults, 2 children under 14 and 3 under 7 to count as one adult. Babies under 1 year were not counted. The captain

of immigrants were contemplated in the Act: those who came voluntarily or who were sent by their landlords, and pauper immigrants sent by government funds. The latter were to be certified by the customs officials at the port of clearance, and it was expected that the British government would grant a sum of £8,000, with which the commissary general was to pay the tax for the paupers. The scale of aided migration thus contemplated was never realized in Canada, however. Such aided emigration as took place was sanctioned by the Poor Law officials rather than by the Colonial Office, and was aided by parish funds in England rather than by a special appropriation. Most of the British pauper migration of the next few years was directed to Australia rather than to Canada.

This law remained unchanged until after the deluge of 1847. Then popular resentment of the dumping of dependants upon Canadian shores brought a demand for a restrictive statute, which will be noted later. Meantime, the Wakefieldian group had urged both in Canada and in London that the proceeds of land sales should be appropriated to a fund for immigrant aid. This plan was naturally included in Lord Durham's *Report*, but Sydenham condemned it as impracticable. "The whole land revenue arising from sales, of the two Canadas, does not reach £20,000 a year, which might bring out 2,000 or 3,000 people," he wrote to a friend in 1843.¹

The Home government was urged by all friends of the colonies, and especially by the Wakefieldians, to support an emigration agency in Canada. On July 22, 1840, the lords commissioners of the treasury granted £1550 for one year's expenses of such an agency. Throughout the decade an annual appropriation of £1500 was made, although the amount actually paid varied with the need.²

The Canadians removed all customs duties from the private

must deliver a passenger list and receive formal permission before landing his passengers. Suitable machinery and penalties secured the assurance of essential accuracy in reports. This law went into effect Mar. 1, 1842.

¹Montreal *Transcript*, Aug. 31, 1843. For Sydenham's policy of public works for the employment of immigrants, see Harrison to the provincial secretary, July 24, 1840, Canadian Archives, Upper Canada Sundries.

²This was £1825 in Canadian currency. There was sometimes trouble in the transmission of funds, perhaps owing to the exceedingly involved condition of Canadian finances at the time. Higginson, J. M., to Filder (commissary general), Oct. 3; and Filder to Higginson, Oct. 8, 1844. Canadian Archives, Correspondence of the governor-general's office, 1277, 3805, 3811.

effects of settlers in 1844, but as no such exemption was provided in the Imperial Act, settlers were obliged to pay duty on household goods or tools thus taken from one part of the Empire to another. When a Canadian citizen called the attention of government to this matter, the lords of the treasury instructed the Canadian custom house to exempt from duty all settlers' goods not intended for sale.¹

A. C. Buchanan, whose official position was that of "chief emigration agent for Lower Canada," with headquarters at Quebec, is the hero of the Canadian immigration service of the forties. He remained at his post throughout the decade, except for a brief time in 1847, when he fell victim to the fever of that year. In 1843, James Allison was made agent at Montreal, to be succeeded in 1848 by J. Weatherly, who remained at least two years.² In 1843 also, A. V. Hawke was named chief agent for Upper Canada, with headquarters at Kingston. He was succeeded by Anthony Hawke in 1850. In the years 1843-9, George R. Burke was agent at Bytown. At Toronto, Dr. D. R. Bradley was agent in 1843-4, W. M'Elderry in 1845-7, and in 1848 the place seems to have been vacant. Dr. Bradley filled it again in 1849, and in 1850 Chief Agent Hawke was transferred from Kingston to Toronto. Hamilton had J. H. Palmer as its agent in 1844-9. At Port Hope and Cobourg, W. J. M'Kay officiated in 1845-7, and Anthony Hawke in 1848-9.

The duties of this corps of men were to receive the immigrants upon landing, making sure that the passenger list of the ship's master corresponded to the official list; to tranship to coach or canal-boat, to give out landing-money if such had been sent, to see that the starving or naked were relieved, to hear complaints, if any, and if necessary to take steps to bring shipmasters to legal retribution; to bring together employers and labourers, and to help newcomers to find relatives and friends. Their work was heavy and difficult. Considering the novelty of the doctrine of social responsibility in this field, the work of the early Canadian immigration officers is the more praiseworthy.

Their services were an official echo of the popular attitude in Canada, which until the latter part of 1847 was one of hearty welcome to immigrants, with much of that generous aid for

¹The citizen was J. W. Dunscomb, who wrote to D. Daly on July 11, 1844, asking that the matter be brought to the lords of the treasury. *Ibid.*, 3693. *Times*, Feb. 25, 1845. *Fifth Colonial Land and Emigration Commission Report*, p. 11.

²The government reports name no agent at Montreal in 1850.

which any frontier is notable. At the beginning of the decade, when land was the chief economic resource, there was a distinct quarrel between the government, which had a conservative land policy, and those radical citizens who wished to copy the land policy represented by the 1820 land law of the United States. As the decade passed, and it was seen that only a small proportion of the immigrants could buy land in any case, Canadian thought recked less of land and more of transportation. Canals and railroads, which would afford immediate employment and an ultimate means of reaching markets when the land should produce its fruits, came to the fore in all discussions of immigration policy. The rapid growth and prosperity of the United States were cited, and with great enthusiasm Canada proceeded to plan canals and railroads galore. Much real progress was made in canal-digging; but the railroads remained but a dream during the forties. The tremendous capital needed for railroad-building was not to be found in Canada, nor was it forthcoming from England. But, although the day of fulfilment was not yet come, the eager planning shows above all else the intense desire for greater population that animated all forward-looking Canadians at that time. The land companies did their share in offering lures that led to the frontier, and were fairly successful in attracting settlers.

The friendliness of the day is shown by the immigrant aid societies that sprang up everywhere. With the exception of criminals, against whom Canada set her face with determination and success, all sorts of immigrants were at first made welcome.¹ The Quebec Immigration Society seems to have been the first of its kind. It gave great service in the "Cholera Year" (1832),

¹In 1838 Glenelg had suggested that young English criminals might find reformation with freedom from the temptation of English cities in the Canadian wilderness; but his suggestion met with no response from the wilderness. The question came up again early in the forties but was dropped, and in 1850 a small experiment was made with twelve boys sent from the Ragged School in West street, Smithfield. Two went "up country" and may have succeeded; they were lost track of. The rest received their landing-money and went into lodgings at Quebec. Some were afterward employed in discharging and unloading the ship in which they had come. Four had shipped back to England by August, and the rest were then awaiting a like opportunity. Glenelg to Arthur, May 20, 1838; Canadian Archives, Glenelg-Arthur, unnumbered. *Criminal and Destitute Children* (Report of select committee, 1852-53), pp. 19-159. *Emigration, Canada* (Papers relating to Emigration, Accts. and Papers, XL, 1851), p. 8. For an account of the efforts of Buchanan to place girls from Irish workhouses in domestic service in Bytown and other places in Canada, see the correspondence in *Emigration, 1852-53* (LXVIII, 1852-53), pp. 23 ff. Rev. John Sinclair to Elgin, Sep. 2, 1848; Canadian Archives, Correspondence of the governor-general's office, 5145.

and afterward supported Buchanan in his work for newcomers. A similar society functioned in Montreal. At the beginning of 1840 a very active immigration committee and society was founded in Toronto, which organized sub-committees and co-operating societies in various towns and settlements in Upper Canada, and offered great practical service to immigrants.¹ They found prompt employment if possible, gave aid when necessary, and helped in the distribution of farm labour. In 1846, when it was rumoured that the Montreal agency was to be closed, the immigrant committee wrote a memorial to Lord Cathcart protesting this action, and the agency remained. The Toronto society was able to induce some landowners to offer fifty-acre tracts of land to settlers. These it listed together with offers of employment from the hinterland, making a clearing-house for farm settlement and work. In Montreal and Quebec the immigration committees and societies kept a wary eye upon ship-masters and immigration officers alike, and were not backward in reporting bad conditions.²

II. 1846-50

The potato famine was first felt in Western Europe in 1845, and increased emigration from that cause began in the spring of 1846. But it was not until 1847, when the lowered vitality of the starving people had yielded to disease, that increased emigration became a stampede. Canadian immigration had gone down to 20,000 in 1844 in the reaction from the disastrous conditions of 1842; but it rose again in the two following years. The number of ships available for migration purposes was increased in 1846, for the repeal of the Corn Laws added many grain ships to the lumber vessels that had before been mainly responsible for emigration to British North America.

The well-to-do came as usual in 1846, but most of them passed rapidly through Canada into the western states, leaving

¹Jarvis (sheriff of Toronto at that time) to Toronto *Patriot*, May 25, 1840, referred to in Montreal *Gazette*, June 2, 1840. Francis Hewson to Thomson, Sep. 17, 1840; Canadian Archives, Upper Canada Sundries 1840. *Emigration, 1847-48*, Return No. 368. Canadian Archives, L.C.P.S.O. 6764, 1840-41. Montreal *Gazette*, May 26, 1841. *The Albion*, III: 146 (New York Public Library).

²Canadian Archives, Correspondence of the governor-general's office, 4443; a document not dated, but numerous signed. Neilson, Joseph, *Observations upon Emigration to Upper Canada*, etc. (Kingston, 1837), pp. 72-74. Kingsford, Wm. *The History of Canada*, IX: 260 ff.

only the wage-earners for Canada; and many wage-earners soon found their way into the industrial cities south of the border. About half of those who landed at Quebec were unskilled; four-fifths of the remainder were small farmers or farm labourers. There were 715 mechanics and artisans, of whom 98 were miners from Wales, Cornwall, and Waterford. These miners all went to the copper region about Lake Superior.¹ Of the total immigration of 32,753, there were 1,325 detained in quarantine, and 105 died there. This was a great increase over the proportion of deaths in former years. The effects of the famine were beginning to show in decreased resistance to the voyage.² With the deaths at sea, the mortality was almost 100 per cent. greater than in 1845. Hawke found the ships dirty and ill-managed. Sickness and death followed the newcomers up the river, the sub-agencies being called on to care for over 1,200 cases. Of these, 66 deaths are recorded. Employment was satisfactory throughout the season, and some Canadians declared that there need have been no suffering but for the laziness of some of the immigrants. A competent modern physician would probably diagnose much of this "laziness" as inertia due to malnutrition. The government helped as few as possible, limiting the free passages up the St. Lawrence to the aged and obviously destitute.³

The news of the second year of potato famine, of the suffering of the winter of 1846-7, and of the active preparations for emigration to begin as soon as the season opened, gave Canada ample warning of an unusual influx in the next summer. Thoughtful citizens wrote to the papers to ask what preparations were being made for the expected hordes; some suggested schemes for caring for them. Buchanan wrote to the governor's civil secretary that

¹*Emigration to . . . North America*, pp. 7, 11-12 (Papers relative to Emigration, 1846 ff: Accounts and Papers, H.C. and Command, XXXIX, 1847.)

²In a letter to his wife and children, an obscure Irish immigrant shows that this effect was commonly recognized among the peasantry of that land. The letter is written from Beekskill (Peekskill, N.Y.) "march 8th 48," and is from Thos. Garry to his "dear and Loveing wife and children." It closes with the following postscript: "I was ready to go to york to pay Passge for you and the children but i consider yous would not stand the wracking of the sea till yous be nourished for a time" (*Third Report on Colonization from Ireland, 1848*, App. X).

³In 1846 German immigrants appeared in Canada for the first time since 1836. A party of 144 came through Hull, the rest directly from Germany. Some 500 from the United States reached Hamilton in November. Another party of 200 came by way of the St. Lawrence. The Canadians were delighted to see these Germans, for they knew that they would develop the land, and that they were quiet and law-abiding citizens.

he should need additional sheds both at Quebec and at Montreal. An extra agent was employed at Port St. Francis, and citizens were requested to act as employment agents at various places. A special medical board was appointed at Quebec, extra provisions were sent to the quarantine station, and a small steamer was engaged for the use of the health officer who had charge of landing the sick. Lord Elgin secured tents for 10,000 men from the ordnance department, and began to negotiate for extra money for the unusual expenses ahead.¹ Canada was resolved that the influx, when it came, should find her house in order.

But no preparation could have been adequate for the flood of misery that descended upon Quebec in 1847. On the eighth of May, the *Urania* of Cork put into the harbour at Grosse Isle, the first plague ship of the year's sad fleet. During the last three weeks of that month a strong easterly wind blew into the roadway eighty-four ships, each heavily laden with disease and death. Not one was free of typhus; not one but exhaled the intolerable stench of dying creatures who had existed for weeks in the most abject squalor, crowded past decency, and too weak, ignorant, and despairful to exert themselves for their own good.²

The story of that summer on Grosse Isle has been so often retold that it may be omitted here, its suffering being recalled to the reader only that he may see it in its place as the nadir of Canadian migration history. It is probable that, barring the still more dreadful possibilities of war, no such catastrophe can occur again in the western world; for from 1847 the efforts to improve economic conditions in Ireland and the shipping laws have been effective in proportion as the lesson of that year was vivid.

The migration of 1847 included a great number of idiots, cripples, widows, and orphans, the decrepit old and those weakened by famine; and that of 1848, while much smaller, was of the same sort. A vigorous protest arose, for Canadians felt that their new country, with its frontier difficulties not yet overcome,

¹Montreal *Transcript*, Mar. 20 (quoting from *Bytown Gazette*), and Apr. 22, 1847. Henry Moyle to Robert Bruce, Mar. 31, 1847, in *Eighth Report*, Colonial Land and Emigration Commission, p. 14. Hansard, 1847, XCIV, 181. Buchanan's report, Dec. 24, 1846, in *Emigration to . . . North America*, (XXXIX, 1847) p. 15. Buchanan to Elgin, Mar. 18, 1847; Canadian Archives, Correspondence of the governor-general's office, 4607. *Emigration, 1847-48* (XLVII, 1847-48), p. 35.

²Maguire, *The Irish in America*, 134-145; often reprinted, and included in Abbott, *Immigration*. Ramsay to Wolcott, June 5; Elliot and Wood to Stephen, June 11, 1847; in *Colonization from Ireland, 1847*, appendix, p. 62.

should not also be burdened with the helpless paupers of the motherland. Adam Ferrie of Montreal, a leading and influential citizen, addressed an open letter to Earl Grey. Canada, he said, was willing enough to receive a normal immigration and to share with it the opportunity of the New World. But this had been no normal immigration: it brought the helpless, the idle, those totally unfitted for life in America. Why were barriers and regulations strictly enforced when migration was normal, while every restriction was removed in time of plague and famine?¹

The year 1848 saw a further immigration of a class that had come previously: the out pensioners of the British army, chiefly Irish. They were old soldiers, able and willing to work, a little removed from destitution, but very poor. The staff officer of pensioners selected from the applicants those not likely to become dependent, and usually those who had friends in the New World. They were brought over in charge of a medical officer, who was instructed to deliver them to the homes of their friends.²

By the famine years the immigration officers had developed through experience a set of principles for the placing of immigrants, which was put into practice in 1848 and after. One of these principles was to place Irish immigrants among Scottish or English settlers, rather than to allow them to settle in purely Irish communities. The Irish themselves objected to this, mainly because it deprived them of the services of a priest, as a priest was not usually within reach in a non-Irish settlement. The government officials, more interested in economic than in spiritual affairs, found that the Irish prospered far more when placed among the Scottish and English, as they imitated the thrift of their neighbours. This was especially noted in the section about Peterborough, where some Irish lived in purely Irish communities and some mingled with the other British peoples. In the second generation the Irish with non-Irish neighbours had become cleanly, thrifty, ambitious, and prosperous.³

Another principle was that means should be provided for gradual initiation into and education in American ways of living

¹Ferrie, Adam, *Letter to the Rt. Hon. Earl Grey*, etc. (Montreal, 1847; Canadian Archives, Pamphlet 1636). *Ibid.*, Executive Council Papers 4869, Dec. 7, 1847. *Montreal Transcript*, Mar. 20, 1847, quoting from *Bytown Gazette* of Mar. 13. *Niles' Register*, 72: 324. Hansard, 1847, XC, 678. *Irish Packet Station* (Reports from Commissioners, XXV, 1851), pp. 215-216.

²Maule to the Canadian General Officer, June 10, 1847. Canadian Archives, C 633A, pp. 202-7.

³*Colonization from Ireland, 1847*, p. 276.

and working. Native-born, or at least experienced, citizens were to be encouraged to go into the hinterland; newcomers were to be kept for a time where there was at least an approach to conditions with which they were familiar. In 1848 there was a definite feeling that the French, who had for generations shown their ability to open up the forest, should strike farther back into the wilderness and create new farms, while their improved, but partially exhausted, lands passed into the hands of British immigrants.¹ Of course this did not succeed; the French had no mind to give up what they held. The failure of the scheme did not halt the progress of the British in Canada, for there was plenty of good land to the west.

The popular resentment against pauper dumping resulted in the passing on March 23, 1848, of a statute "to make better provision with respect to Emigrants." It raised the tax rate from 5 shillings to 10 shillings per head, irrespective of age. This amount was to be increased by 2s. 6d. per passenger for each three days spent by the ship in quarantine, except for observation purposes, to a limit of 20 shillings. In order to stop those arrivals late in the season which had caused great additional suffering in 1847, the law provided that the 10-shilling tax should be doubled for those who came in ships arriving in September, and trebled for those who came after October 1. To remedy the common evil of taking passengers on board after clearance, a fine of 40 shillings was levied on every passenger not on the official list.² The name and age of each passenger were now required, as well as full data concerning those likely to become dependent. The medical officer examining the passengers of incoming ships was directed to see that these data tallied with the actual personnel of the human cargo, and to require a bond of the master that such passengers should not become dependent. This bond, which must have two sureties, was for £100 for each passenger considered a potential pauper, and was in favour of any civil unit or institution in the province which gave eleemosynary service. A commutation fee of 20 shillings might be substituted for the bond.

¹Rev. B. O'Reilly to Elgin, Nov. 14, 1848. Canadian Archives, Correspondence of the governor-general's office, 5104. The French, of course, were opposed to the incoming of a large British population, and one of the rare suggestions after 1847 for a policy of restriction, comes from P. B. de Blaquière to Major Campbell, Aug. 27, 1847. *Ibid.*, No. 4827.

²By this time there were fast steamships which brought the official lists from the officers of British ports to Quebec and Montreal, so that the Canadian port officials knew before a sailing ship arrived what passengers to expect.

Stricter regulations were made for the landing of passengers, and penalties were made a lien on the ship. In case of wreck the shipowners must forward their passengers to their destination, or suffer the sale of the salvage for that purpose.¹

This law was framed with a stringency calculated to prevent a recurrence of the conditions of 1847. It succeeded. Combined with other causes, it reduced the Canadian immigration from 89,562 (official figures, admittedly understated) in 1847, to 26,412 in 1848 (very nearly accurate). Canadians saw once more the main migration stream pass their shores for those of the United States. After much official correspondence, a new law was passed on April 25, 1849, which, however, was somewhat stricter than that of the previous year.² Under its terms the immigration of the close of the decade remained under 40,000 per year, rising in 1849 and 1851 and falling in the alternate years. Buchanan, mindful of the fact that the small demand for unskilled labour was readily met by workers already in the country, issued in 1848 a warning to immigrants to stay away from Canada, and they heeded it. Canada caught her breath, and began to put into practice the things she had learned in 1847.

At Grosse Isle, immigrants from "sickly" ships were forced to land at the west end of the island, there to wash and sun their clothing and bedding, and to prove themselves free of disease before they could proceed up country. Meantime, they were fed on bread, beef, milk, and vegetables. As most of them had never known so generous a diet, they soon showed a vast improvement in appearance. In 1847, when these precautions had not been taken, there was disease and death throughout the land; in 1848 and 1849 the hinterland was almost entirely free of sickness. There was still considerable illness on the ships of 1848 and 1849,

¹Canadian laws, 11 V., c. 1. The preamble recites that the emigrant tax is inadequate, and that Canada must prevent the entrance of a pauper class, diseased and dependent. This justification as well as the provisions following are rather closely modelled after certain state statutes then lately passed in the United States. Canada did not directly copy these laws, however. The suggestion came through Earl Grey, in whose despatch of Dec. 1, 1847, the law is first outlined. See *Eighth General Report, Colonial Land and Emigration Commission*, pp. 15-16, and copy of the law in the *Register of Laws in The Prison at Cambridge*, with its endorsements referring to Lord Grey's despatches No. 193 of April 6, and No. 66 of May 24, 1848. The Canadian law was temporary, extending only to the close of the legislative session following Dec. 1, 1849.

²Canadian laws, 12 V., c. 6, No. 588 in the *Register of Laws*. A supplementary law giving commutation for the bond of £75 currency required of shipmasters by the statute, is 14 and 15 V., c. 3, No. 925 in the *Register of Laws*, Aug. 2, 1851.

although typhus was more rare if the hasty and crude diagnoses of the day are to be trusted. A few English, many Highlanders, and most of the Irish still needed governmental help in reaching their destinations.

An index to the location of the famine conditions still prevailing in the mother countries may be had from the percentage of illness found in ships from the various English, Scotch, and Irish ports in 1849:

Of 4405 embarked at Liverpool, 99 died, or 2.25 per cent.									
" 2274	"	"	Dublin,	91	"	"	4	"	"
" 7285	"	"	Limerick,	353	"	"	5	"	"
" 851	"	"	Newry,	61	"	"	7	"	"
" 625	"	"	Greenock, ¹	79	"	"	12.5	"	"

In the early part of 1850 a distinct improvement was apparent. There was a decrease of sixteen per cent. in Canadian immigration, with an immense improvement in health and cleanliness. The first arrivals at Grosse Isle on May 17, consisting of 6,034 passengers on 39 ships, were in better health than any immigrants had been since 1845. Dr. Douglas, port physician, attributed this to fine weather and short voyages, and to the better diet enforced by the new British Passengers Act.² The death rate fell from 2.73 per cent. to .67 per cent., and most of those who died were either children or aged persons. Severe ophthalmia was first recorded in Canada in this year, a sequel to the epidemic then raging in Ireland. Several Irish immigrants became blind after arrival.³ Three-fourths of the immigration was Irish, and that part of it which remained in Canada was healthily absorbed—about 4,000 in Canada East, and some 15,000 in Canada West. Several good seasons had put the earlier immigrants into a posi-

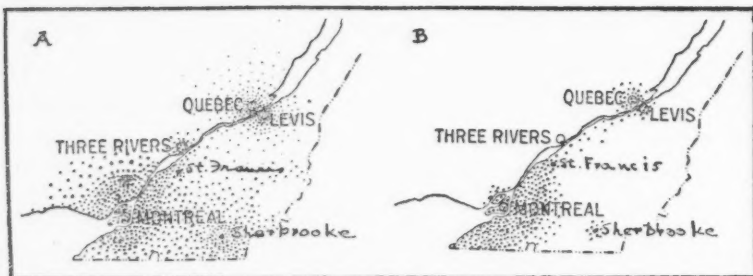
¹It is to be remembered that passengers from Liverpool were almost entirely from eastern Ireland; only about a tenth of them were English or Welsh at this time. Those from Greenock were at least a third from northern Ireland, most of the rest coming from the Argyle Highlands, a district very hard hit by the potato famine. The *Sarah*, of Sligo, lost 13 per cent. of her passengers from fever and other diseases caused by famine, in 1849.

²12 and 13 V., c. 33. This is the act which first specified the form of passengers' tickets, and which raised the food allowance from 7 to 10½ pounds per week besides tea and sugar. This was slightly higher than the amount required by the American law (30th Cong. sess. 1, c. 41) if the voyage be counted as was customary at ten weeks. See *Emigration, 1851*, p. 4.

³*Emigration, 1851*, p. 13. Grey to Head, May 19; H. Merivale to H. Waddington, Feb. 22; and W. Stanley, secretary to the poor law commissioners to Sir T. N. Redington, Mar. 31, 1851. See Poor, *Ireland*, xxvi, 1851, pp. 127-151.

tion for employing newcomers. The year 1850 saw the beginning of a period of healthy growth of towns and commerce, and of agricultural improvement.

The decade of the forties is, of course, but a fraction of a long period during which population shifted in an endless effort to find an equilibrium between desire and satisfaction in the standard of living. The results can be considered only as steps in the process of general betterment, not for the British people or for Canada alone, but for the human race. What a Canadian business man might have seen, in looking back from the mid-century point upon the preceding decade, was that the population had increased absolutely some 677,000 in ten years, that the rich peninsula of Ontario had for the most part been put into cultivation and had become white man's land, that towns and cities had sprung up in the wilderness, and that both material



Distribution of immigrants in Canada East (A) in 1841, and (B) in 1849. Each dot represents ten immigrants.

and cultural riches had incalculably increased.¹ A comparison of the maps for 1841 and 1849 gives some measure of the trend of settlement during the decade. Whereas at its beginning western Quebec was still in process of settlement, by its end Montreal alone drew any considerable number of immigrants. In 1841 Ontario was receiving her new population mainly along

¹The population increased most in those districts to which immigration had been consciously directed. In Canada East, the Megantic territory increased 115.4 per cent., Sherbrooke county 49.47, Ottawa county 84.42, Drummond county 77.28. In Canada West there had been a total increase of 486,647 in the decade, or 104.58 per cent. The increase in 1831-41 had been 254,920. The places of greatest increase were the Gore and Wellington districts, which grew 1900 per cent. in the thirty-three years to 1850; Huron, Perth and Bruce counties, with an increase of 571 per cent. in ten years; and the towns of Hamilton, Toronto, and Kingston. *Census of the Canadas, 1851-52* (Quebec, 1853).

Lake Erie and in Toronto; in 1849 the western end of the province was filling up with farmers and few immigrants remained in the eastern part.

The modern social historian notes as the most encouraging feature involved in the migration, the lifting of the standard of living and thinking which inevitably took place among the majority of the immigrants. The levelling of classes upward, not downward, has been the greatest social contribution of American life to the world's progress; and this result was noted by at least one keen British observer, in the case of immigrants then but a few years in Canada.¹ The improvement was then, as always at the beginning, largely a superficial one shown in



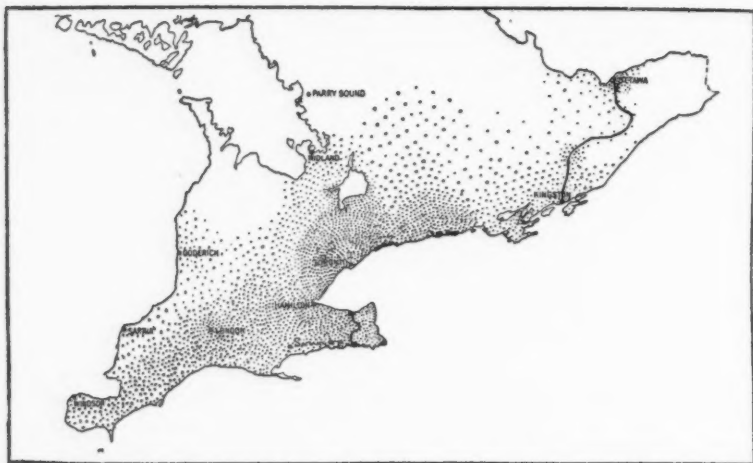
Distribution of Immigrants in Canada West in 1841. Each dot represents ten immigrants.

material betterment; that spiritual and cultural change which takes place in the course of two or three generations had not yet come to pass. And yet even in manners, it was noted by Godley that the behaviour of those who had risen in the world lacked

¹J. R. Godley testified in 1847 that the great majority of Irish Canadians, who had been barefoot peasants in their own land, were as well dressed as the well-to-do middle class in England (*Colonization from Ireland, 1847*, p. 183.) In *Letters from America* (I, 192 ff.) the same author tells of a servant-girl who had formerly worked for him, who had become a prosperous *modiste* in Canada. She met her former master with self-possession, courtesy and simplicity, heartily glad to see him and in no respect either insolent or shamefaced. The class distinction of her former life had apparently been completely forgotten; for her it had ceased to exist.

that "uppishness" which so often characterized the newly-rich in the Old World. This was not always true; but the circumstance of receiving as a gladly-shared boon, what in older lands must be won through a bitter fight, prevented a part of the usual unpleasantness of the self-made. Canada was feeling her way toward an improved life, socially as well as politically.

Migration between Canada and the United States in the forties, while less numerically than in recent years, shows the same general features of interplay between industrial and agricultural areas which characterize it now. It is impossible to say what numbers passed back and forth, sometimes repeatedly, across the border.¹ But the causes and classes of that inter-



Distribution of immigrants in Canada West in 1849. Each dot represents ten immigrants.

¹The following partial and tentative table has been compiled from such data as may be found in various official reports, and serves to give some idea of what happened. The author has used the figures given in *Rapport Spécial sur l'Immigration* for the years 1843, 1844, 1847, and 1851, for which she did not find the complete original records of the secretary of state of the United States, which are in the manuscript division of the Library of Congress. The author of the *Rapport* agrees with small variations from these reports, where comparable. The figures for 1842 and 1843 have a strange look, but are found in Canadian reports. The Canadian immigration of 1843, being very small and select, may explain the figures for that year. Emigration in 1847 to the United States was estimated by Buchanan as about 30,000 (*Emigration, 1847-48*, p. 25), but the official figures have been used. It will be remembered that Buchanan himself was ill that year and that harassed underlings had to make up the official reports, largely from estimate, in such time as the relief of suffering left them. The emigration of 1846 is from Upper Canada alone, as Lower Canada seems not to have reported in that year.

change may be described with fair accuracy. It has been seen that the immigrant farmer with capital and the wage-earner tended to pass through Canada to the United States. Besides this movement, there was an emigration of native or of long-settled Canadians, and this had become so marked by 1849 that a select committee of the legislative assembly was appointed to inquire into it. Its careful report comports with facts as recorded in the United States. It was ascertained that the emigration had begun soon after the rebellion of 1837-8, in the region about Montreal. Farmers went to Michigan, Illinois, and Ohio, and sent back "exaggerated" accounts of their prosperity. Labourers found work, or hoped to do so, on railroads then building. As word spread of the easier life and broader opportunity in the United States, others followed, the first large migration taking place in 1841. The ravages of the wheat-fly in the forties accelerated the movement. The falling off of the lumber trade took workingmen from Quebec, especially after the fires of 1845. Those who left from the Three Rivers district usually went first to the Eastern Townships, and thence, if work did not offer, to Vermont or New York. From Yamaska and Nicolet counties, workers went each summer to brickyards and other industrial plants in the United States; and about a quarter of this seasonal migration remained each year.

The yearly emigration from the Eastern Townships was

The figures given are of such mass movements as came to official attention, and take no account of the constant quiet filtration across the border in both directions—the social osmosis due to individual opportunity, initiative, or adventurous spirit.

Year	By sea, B.N.A. to U.S. by U.S. reports	By land, B.N.A. to U.S. by B.N.A. reports	Total to U.S.	U.S. to B.N.A. by B.N.A. reports	Balance
1840	1,938	1,200	3,138	1,300	1,838 U.S.
1841	1,811	3,500 (<i>cir.</i>)	5,311		
1842	1,678	2,078	3,756	6,000	2,244 B.N.A.
1843	1,502			273	
1844	2,711	2,000	4,711	4,920	209 B.N.A.
1845	3,195	4,000	7,195	2,600	4,595 U.S.
1846	3,855	6,978	10,833	2,864	7,969 U.S.
1847	3,827	19,000 (<i>cir.</i>)	22,827		
1848	6,423	6,473	12,896		
1849	6,795	10,477	17,272	1,700	15,572 U.S.
1850	6,776	13,723	20,499		
1851	7,438	18,561	25,999		

balanced by new settlers from Europe and by Americans settling in Canada. Not so in the regions about Bytown and Montreal, from which the net exodus increased steadily from 1846. Up to 1847, the emigration from Canada East was mainly from Montreal and from Dorchester county, but in that year many farmers in Bellechasse, L'Islet, and Kamouraska counties sold their lands and moved beyond Chicago, by way of the Great Lakes. Their common incentive seems to have been to provide for their large families from the cheaper and better land on the Illinois prairie. The whole number of French who left Lower Canada was estimated at 70,000. Besides the prosperous farmers, thousands went to work in manufacturing plants in New England or New York, in lumbering camps in Maine, or on the railroads and canals then booming in the United States. Few of these ever climbed out of the labouring class; they were, for the most part, those who could have lived on land only under the seigniorial system, those who were doomed at the first test of competition to sink into the ranks of wage labourers. Their more thrifty neighbours remained in permanent possession of the farm lands of Quebec.¹

There was this difference between the native-born and the immigrants: the better class of the newly-arrived tended to pass on to the United States, while the better class of the older citizens stayed. At the same time well-to-do Americans, farmers from Vermont, northern New York, Pennsylvania, or Maine migrated into Canada. To their number were added from time to time a few British farmers who had bought land and prospered in "The States", but who preferred to live within the Empire. They sold their farms and bought again to advantage in Canada, often taking possession of land and work left behind by the incompetent, or by that most tragic class of frontiersmen who, after a brave fight and real improvement of land, find themselves in debt and unable to carry on. Such men sell out and try again in a new place, and other men reap where they have sown.

Some of the newcomers from New England bought land in the Eastern Townships, but most of the Americans went into Canada West. They were the forerunners of the later "invasion" of the far western provinces by American farmers. The exchange was to the advantage of all concerned, for in the more varied

¹*Report of the Select Committee of the Legislative Assembly . . . to inquire into . . . the emigration . . . from Lower Canada to the United States* (Montreal, 1849. Canadian Archives, Pamphlet 1686).

opportunities of the United States, many mediocre men found success who could not have won it in Canada; while Canada won from the winnowing process a group which was solid and cohesive, and more fitted to her peculiar conditions than the first hit-or-miss distribution of immigrants had given.

FRANCES MOREHOUSE

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

DAVID THOMPSON

IN the introduction to *David Thompson's Narrative*, edited by Mr. J. B. Tyrrell and published by The Champlain Society, in 1916, it is stated: "A mortgage which he held on the Presbyterian Church in Williamstown, the congregation proved unable to pay; and Thompson deeded to them the church and the grounds." A footnote says: "This statement depends upon the authority of one of David Thompson's daughters, Mrs. R. W. Scott."

It is generally understood that the settlement of Glengarry commenced in 1784, and while location of lands was then made, patents did not issue, nor were there facilities for registration of titles for some years afterwards.

According to Rev. Robert Campbell's *History of St. Gabriel Street Church, Montreal*, Rev. John Bethune closed his ministry in Montreal on May 6, 1787, and came to Glengarry. Judge Pringle in *Lunenburg or the Old Eastern District* says that the Presbyterians built churches in Williamstown, Lancaster, front of Charlottenburgh township, and Cornwall in 1787. In McNiff's map of the district, dated November 1, 1786, Sir John Johnson appears as the owner of lots 3, 4, and 5 on the south bank of the River Aux Raisins, and 47, 48, and 49 on the north bank in Charlottenburgh. On portions of these lots, adjoining the river, the village of Williamstown was laid out. The same map shows lot 50, adjoining Williamstown on the east, as located by Peter Ferguson and Alexander Grant. On May 7, 1802, a patent of the west half of lot 50 issued to Peter Ferguson, who on July 5, 1804, conveyed it to Rev. John Bethune.

The first church in Williamstown, a log building, was erected on this lot in 1787, and no doubt about the same time, or perhaps earlier, its use as a burying ground had commenced. In any event there are now in it tombstones dating back to 1794, indicating that it was used as a burying ground at least thus early, so that before the title vested in Rev. John Bethune, a part of the property had already been set apart for a church site and burying ground. Peter Ferguson was a prominent member of the congregation, being a member of the committee of managers when the church was building.

On June 21, 1806, Rev. Mr. Bethune conveyed to trustees the church

site and burying ground, and on April 7, 1810, they conveyed it back to him, this conveyance reciting that the system by which the property was held had been found inconvenient, and that the parties were desirous of having the trust restored in some more satisfactory manner, to accomplish which it became necessary to surrender the title to Rev. John Bethune.

The west half of lot 50 was supposed to contain originally about one hundred acres, but several parcels had been sold off it, and in Rev. John Bethune's will, dated December 21, 1813, he described it as containing 85 acres, and left it to his wife. He died September 23, 1815, and five days later on September 28 probate of his will issued. On October 16, 1815, less than a month after Mr. Bethune's death, Mrs. Bethune sold the property to David Thompson.

On May 4, 1819, David Thompson conveyed to trustees the church site and burying ground, a memorial of said conveyance, now on file in the Registry Office for Glengarry, containing the following:

Whereas the said David Thompson, Esquire, is seized in fee simple of all that certain tract or lot of land, situate, lying and being in the said Township of Charlottenburgh, known by the name of the West half of lot number fifty on the North side of the River Aux Raisins, and Whereas the Presbyterian congregation of Williamstown aforesaid, hath built a church on part of said lot and appropriated a part of it to a burying ground, and whereas the former deed of conveyance, which the said congregation have held, for the said piece of ground, from the late Reverend John Bethune, hath in consequence of some neglect in the execution thereof, become void. Now the said indenture, purporting to be an indenture of bargain and sale, whereby the said David Thompson, Esquire, for and in consideration of the sum of twenty five pounds of lawful money of the Province of Upper Canada, to him in hand paid by the said Alexander McKenzie, Alexander McGruer, Hugh McDonell, Thomas Munro, Donald McPherson and John McKenzie, trustees, and the receipt acknowledged hath granted, bargained, sold, aliened, transferred, conveyed and confirmed unto the said . . . trustees and unto their heirs for ever, all that certain parcel or piece of ground, on which the church now stands and which is occupied as a burying ground, containing by admeasurement one acre, two roods and twelve perches, more or less, known by the name of Church Lot, and being part of west side of said lot number fifty.

That, under the circumstances set forth in this conveyance, David Thompson should have exacted twenty five pounds from the Williamstown congregation might be considered an indication that he was in need of money at this time, and that one week later, on May 11, 1819, he conveyed to Donald Fraser forty-three acres of the land purchased from Mrs. Bethune would appear to confirm this.

The records in the Registry Office for Glengarry show that at no time was there a mortgage recorded against the part of the west half of lot fifty, on which the church site and burying ground are located, either

to David Thompson or to any one else. This and the recital in the deed from David Thompson to the church trustees should effectually dispose of his daughter's statement that he had a mortgage on it.

There is still to the fore a book of accounts relating to the construction of the Presbyterian church at Williamstown, also the minutes from July 29, 1816, to March 21, 1818, of the committee in charge. The building was commenced in 1812 and completed in March, 1818. This book was written up as of February 1, 1817, and about a year later the accounts of the individual members, termed, "proprietors" were re-written as of February 26, 1818. The mode of financing was the making of a levy on each proprietor, so that all contributed equally. There is in this book a list of the proprietors as of February 1, 1817. In most cases a proprietor is down for one share, but in several instances two men are down jointly for a share, the number of shares represented being ninety-six. As frequently happens the cost of the building exceeded the estimate, and to meet it the levy on each proprietor was increased and finally amounted to twenty pounds each. The individual accounts in most cases show contributions in time and material as well as money, and, when the pews were distributed, to the number of ninety-four on February 23, 1818, those who had not made up their complement of twenty pounds had to give their notes for whatever they were short before getting a deed of a pew.

On July 25, 1820, the congregation bought from Donald Fraser, for a glebe, the forty-three acres which David Thompson had sold him. The account book mentioned contains a list of the proprietors who subscribed towards the purchase of this land, also a list of subscribers who were not proprietors. The first five names on this latter list are, Duncan Cameron, Hugh McGillis, John McGillivray, John McDonell, and Simon Fraser, all members of the North West Company, residing in the vicinity.

Neither in this account book nor in the minutes mentioned does David Thompson's name appear, either as a contributor or in any other capacity. This book, with the minutes mentioned copied into it, was lent to the Dominion Archives for the purpose of making a photostat copy, which is now no doubt on file there.

In 1912 there was celebrated the centenary of the building of the church and the one hundred and twenty fifth anniversary of the founding of the congregation, and the proceedings on this occasion were, in 1916, published by the *Standard* of Cornwall, Ontario, in book form, including addresses given, papers read, lists of members and pew holders, copies of documents, etc.

F. D. McLENNAN

PETER POND IN 1780

IN my article on the *North West Company*, in the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, December, 1927, pp. 308-321, I stated (p. 312), that Peter Pond came back to Montreal in 1779 after his first trip to Athabaska, which was begun in the previous year, and that he returned to Athabaska in 1780 (p. 313). This statement was based on the appearance of Pond's name in the list of licenses issued in Montreal in the spring of 1780. Recent material noted in the *Askin papers* (Detroit, 1928), and copied by courtesy of the Detroit Public Library throws further light on Pond's movements. The log-book of His Majesty's armed sloop *Welcome*, Capt. Alexander Harrow, has two items in this connection. The first is dated Mackinac, Sunday November 26, 1780: "This evening Mr. Pond with seven engagees arrived in a batteau from Lake Superior." The second has reference to the new fort which was being built on Mackinac island in 1781: "Thursday 10th May. This day borrowed a small batteau from Mr. Pond, a merchant, for the vessel's use."

Obviously Pond wintered at Mackinac in 1780-1, and not, as I have suggested, in Athabaska. The evidence supports the conclusion that Pond did not come down to Montreal in 1779, but came down only as far as Grand Portage, and returned directly to bring out the furs which, as Alexander Mackenzie notes, had been left in Athabaska. Pond came out late in the season of 1780, wintered at Mackinac in 1780-1, and returned to winter with Waden at Lac la Rouge in 1781-2. The licenses were made out in Pond's name at Montreal in the spring of 1780, but apparently he was not present. This is written as a correction, and in the hope that it will afford one more certain link to the history of the uncertain years from 1778 to 1783.

HAROLD A. INNIS

CORRESPONDENCE

Toronto, Ontario
19th October, 1928

THE EDITOR,
CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW,
TORONTO.

Dear Sir,

My attention has been directed to an article in the December, 1927, number of THE CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW by Mr. A. Gordon Dewey, under the title, *Canada's Part in the Britannic Question*. It is not my purpose to attempt a full examination of his conclusions. They seem remarkable rather for their pontifical tone than for accuracy of inference, just estimation of values, or sense of proportion.

In the concluding paragraph of his article, the following illuminating sentence is found: "What Borden learned from his visit to London in 1912, and during the War years made him an autonomist also." Apparently this statement is made, not with the intention of expressing the writer's opinion, but as a matter of historical fact. It means that, previously to 1912, Sir Robert Borden was not an autonomist. It means that, or it means nothing. Even a superficial acquaintance with Canadian political history would have taught the extreme inaccuracy of such an assertion.

On March 14, 1902, about one year after his selection as leader of the Liberal-Conservative Party, Sir Robert Borden delivered an address before the Lindsay Collegiate Institute, in which he set forth his views with regard to constitutional relations between Canada and the mother land. In that address, which was widely published in the Canadian press, the principle of complete autonomy was fully and emphatically vindicated. The doctrine to which Sir Robert Borden then declared his adherence was entirely in accordance with his previous public utterances, and with the principles which he maintained during his subsequent public career.

It is to be observed that in the same address Sir Robert Borden gave a forecast of the probable course of constitutional development. This forecast has been amply confirmed in the years that have intervened.

Yours sincerely,
HENRY BORDEN

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Our Relations to the Nations of the Western Hemisphere. By CHARLES EVANS HUGHES. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1928. Pp. viii, 123.

THIS book consists of the three lectures delivered by Mr. Charles Evans Hughes on the Stafford Little Foundation in Princeton University in 1928. The first lecture deals with the Monroe Doctrine and Canada: the second with Latin America in respect of recognition of governments, furnishing of arms, loans and investments and financial advisers: the third with the pacific settlement of disputes between American states, the general plans of arbitration and the prospects of international organization.

As was to be expected, the relations with Canada occupy very little space, and are referred to chiefly as an example of the way in which friendly nations can settle their difficulties. Most of the narrative deals with the complicated political problems which are being constantly presented to the Washington authorities by their Latin neighbours. Mr. Hughes writes:

In considering these delicate questions in the light of our desire to maintain the most cordial relations with the Latin American Republics, and to give no occasion for the apprehension which we know to be unfounded, there are certain points that should be kept clearly before us. The first is that the people of the Latin American Republics resent intervention of any sort, of any possible description, anywhere. They are not disposed to draw distinctions or to admit justifications. They treasure their independence as their most precious possession. They are intensely nationalistic. On our part there is no disposition to forego our right to protect our nationals when their lives and property are imperilled because the sovereign power for the time being and in certain districts cannot be exercised and there is no government to afford protection.

Mr. Hughes presents clearly and out of his own rich experience the slow progress that has been made towards compulsory arbitration and an American court of international justice. He points out that "those who are fascinated by analogies, so often a pitfall rather than a light, appear to give insufficient attention to the differences between our situation and that of Europe."

The clarity in style of these lectures, their conciseness, and the judicial manner in which a great secretary of state sets forth the American point of view at its best, compel the admiration of the reader. Canadians are so interested in the fortunes of the Latin American republics that this able presentation of our neighbour's attitude towards them should find many readers in this country.

R. A. FALCONER

Empire Government: An Outline of the System prevailing in the British Commonwealth of Nations. By MANFRED NATHAN. London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd. 1928. Pp. 256.

THERE has long been needed a treatise on imperial constitutional law and custom for the young student, the general reader, and the foreigner, which would give an accurate survey of the constitutions of the Empire and would serve as an introduction to the larger technical treatises. Such a work called for knowledge of political movements, of constitutional law, of the actual workings of government, and for a "self-denying ordinance," to avoid any elaborate and theoretical discussion of "status", round which a literature is gathering which is liable to obscure progress and to offend by its insistent subtleties and prolixities. We believe that Mr. Nathan has provided such a book, in which he has successfully carried out his aim of giving an account of Empire government "in a purely statical aspect," and in writing for those "who desire to obtain a general acquaintance with it." His book will admirably "assist the general reader and student in obtaining a rapid and succinct acquaintance with the whole subject," and we may add that it will prove invaluable for foreigners. Mr. Nathan is a distinguished South African lawyer who is already known as an authority on the South African constitution and on constitutional law, and his latest work enhances his reputation.

In the first part of the volume, he examines with selective care the nature of the British Empire, the constitutional position of the Dominions (with a suggestive commentary on the Imperial Conference Report of 1926), of India, the crown colonies, the protectorates, and the mandated territories. In the second part, he surveys certain aspects of the division and exercise of the powers of government under such headings as the Crown, parliament, executive government, the subject. There is, throughout, evidence of wide reading and scholarship. The style is clear, and the manner of approach is judicial and balanced. We know of no other book which we can more strongly recommend for the class of readers for whom it is intended.

As the work will doubtless reach many editions there are some points to which we would draw attention. The "powers" of the witan are stated too dogmatically (p. 16). It is hardly true to state that Henry II "successfully maintained the legal supremacy of the state over the national church" (p. 18). *Mr. Marriott* for Sir J. A. R. Marriott (*passim*). Hudson Bay Company (p. 29). It is surely too much to say categorically that Northern Ireland has "self-government for local affairs" (p. 34). There is no doubt that Canada cannot change the British North America Act and the Dominion of Canada does not come in this connexion within the powers granted under the Colonial Laws

Validity Act. Mr. Nathan refers to *Fielding v. Thomas*. That case dealt with the province of Nova Scotia which had power to change its constitution before federation, and this power was continued in 1867 subject to the British North America Act (p. 39). Mr. Nathan has corrected Hannis Taylor (p. 41) but not entirely. The office of prime minister of Great Britain is recognized in law by implication (7 and 8 George V, c. 55) and there is now a record kept of cabinet proceedings. The "residue of undefined powers" can hardly be said to belong to the federal government in Canada (p. 51) after the opinion of the Judicial Committee in *Toronto Electric Commissioners v. Snider* (1925), A.C. 396. The discussion of the nature of Canadian federalism by Lord Haldane (p. 52) ought to be read in the light of criticism in this REVIEW (vol. II, pp. 106 ff.) The opinion in *In re Initiative and Referendum Act* (1919 A.C. 935) requires further reference to *Rex v. Nat Bell Liquors Ltd.* (1922) A.C. 128 (p. 54). The estimates and interpretations of Magna Carta are hardly modern (pp. 76, 245).

These are small matters, however, in a book of exceptional value for its purpose. It is beautifully printed and the format is excellent. We have noticed only one printer's error, "statius" (p. 85). The index is somewhat inadequate.

W. P. M. KENNEDY

Canada and World Politics: A Study of the Constitutional and International Relations of the British Empire. By PERCY ELLWOOD CORBETT and HERBERT ARTHUR SMITH, Toronto. The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1928. Pp. xvi, 244. (\$2.25.)

THE inter-imperial and international relations of Canada are a fascinating study, and every book written on the subject seems to throw fresh light on them, or at least to lend interest to the various problems which continue to crop up. *Canada and World Politics* is no exception, and, even though one may disagree here and there with certain suggestions and conclusions, one cannot but feel grateful to the joint authors for their interesting contribution to the literature of Canadian affairs.

The real question at issue is, of course, how to reconcile the insistence on responsible government, so characteristic of British peoples, with the necessity for efficiency in the conduct of foreign affairs. Messrs. Corbett and Smith insist that constitutional unity and centralized control are essential if the British Empire is to continue to function; and their understanding of constitutional unity and control seems to demand an Empire in which Great Britain is definitely superior and actually controls the foreign relations of the whole. Now that principle is incompatible with responsible government, for carried to its logical

conclusion it means that a government, elected by the citizens of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and directly responsible to that limited body of electors, has the powers of peace and war, of life and death over Canadians, who have no voice in that government.

This conclusion is intolerable, and, if present tendencies are any indication, must give way to another; namely, the right of each self-governing part, including Great Britain herself, to deal separately, after consultation, with external affairs of a local character (including the making of political treaties). In major issues compromise and agreement with some approach to unanimity are essential. Failing unanimity, the break-down of the present organization is almost inevitable, particularly if Great Britain goes ahead and involves unwilling Dominions in disastrous foreign alliances or wars.

Canada's relation to the League of Nations is dealt with in a manner that reveals Professor Corbett's intimate and accurate knowledge of the League itself, although one might take issue with him on his conclusions regarding the conflict of interests between the Dominions and Great Britain in League matters. On page 114, he states that, "They [the Dominions] may be called upon to apply the sanction of article 16—severance of trade relations and personal intercourse—against Great Britain." Now that as a practical issue is unthinkable, and even as a theory it is probable that the issue might be evaded on some one of a number of grounds, *e.g.* "the necessity for unanimity in the council," "as a matter of domestic concern" or as "a regional understanding." However, the League, like every other organ of government, can only exist and remain effective so long as it conducts its business reasonably and with an eye to the issues involved—and, for the present at least, any attempt to take drastic action against Great Britain without her agreement and the agreement of the Dominions would deal a death-blow to the League itself. Here again we are met with the necessity for compromise and agreement.

The statement on page 36 that "in Canada the constitution expressly provides that the Parliament and government of the Dominion shall have all the powers necessary to enable her to fulfill her international obligations even though the exercise of such powers may involve an invasion of the field normally reserved to the provinces," is too sweeping, for the only reference the British North America Act makes to international obligations is in section 132—which says, "the Parliament and government of Canada shall have all powers necessary or proper for performing the obligations of Canada or of any province thereof, as part of the British Empire, toward foreign countries under treaties between the Empire and such foreign countries." This section will

require either legislative or judicial "extension" ere it means all that is claimed for it.

Many readers will disagree with the statements touching the relations of the United States to Canada and Great Britain. Certainly one may seriously question the conclusion that Canada in the twentieth century is preserved from American military control only by her membership in the British Empire.

On the whole, however, the book is interesting and accurate, and most of the passages to which exception can be taken are matters of individual opinion. The authors have strict law on their side, but are opposed by present tendencies and practice.

N. A. MACKENZIE

Le conseil souverain de la Nouvelle France. By J. DELALANDE. Québec: Ls.-A. Proulx. 1927. Pp. 358.

THIS volume, the first in French, on the Sovereign Council of New France, which was in existence from its creation in 1663 to the capitulation of Montreal in 1760, will probably be welcomed by the ordinary reader and enquirer. In its three hundred and sixty-eight pages, which can be rapidly read on account of their large type, will be found sufficient information and documentation. Beginning with a review of the judicial situation before the edict of 1663, the bulk of the book is devoted to a clear and concise account of the creation, composition, changes, and functioning of the Council, which was, under the French *régime*, the only political body in the colony. To this is added a summary of the main quarrels staged within its precincts between the various factions in the country, and the volume closes with a recapitulation of the much-vexed question of the necessity or non-necessity of the registration by the Council of the king's legal enactments to render them of legal force in Canada. A conclusion of five pages, something of an after-thought, simply mentions how certain powers entrusted to the Council were eventually curtailed or transferred to the intendants. On the whole, the volume may serve as a useful text-book on the subject.

But there ends its merit. To the historical student, it will appear deficient in more than one way. Evidently pressed for time, its author has not mastered the evolution of Canadian history, not even the essentials of his subject. He has not gone under the surface nor scrutinized faithfully the documents at hand. He has been content to rely almost entirely throughout his book on previous writers such as Garneau, Chauveau, DuBois-Cahall and P.-G. Roy. He has much too freely incorporated in his text whole documents which should rather have been analysed and discussed. But perhaps the most glaring fault is his

failure to notice the constant evolution of the Council's powers. He takes it for granted that the Council remained throughout its existence with the same powers and activities as in 1663. The conclusion at the end is wholly inadequate to correct this misapprehension. Nowhere do we see that the real struggle is not between the governor and the Council, but between the latter and the intendants who succeeded, thanks to Versailles, in reducing the Council early in the eighteenth century to a mere judicial body practically shorn of all political powers.

There are also found in the book several statements that should not go unchallenged. One or two might be mentioned. It is gross exaggeration to call the creation of the Council "the most important event" (p. 47) of the French *régime*. Nor can we accept the assertion that the establishment of the Council "was the work of Laval" (p. 50). First the question of a Council appears as early as 1647, and secondly the edict of creation was drafted before Laval crossed to France in 1662.

The bibliographical method is unsystematic. For instance, the same collection is referred to under different names (p. 172 and 181). Some notes give the dates of the documents with no other indication whatever. Still, with all its deficiencies, one cannot help thinking the book will be of some value, especially in its review of the *enregistrement* question.

GUSTAVE LANCTOT

Un pionnier canadien: Pierre Boucher. By SÉRAPHIN MARION. Québec: Ls.-A. Proulx. 1927. Pp. 290.

THIS book was awarded one of the prizes in the Quebec government historical competition of 1927. The author has done history a good service in selecting for his biography the life of a man, not among the great luminaries of New France, but of remarkable worth and activity. For, as Mr. Marion rightly says: "He is a modest servant of God and country, at the same time *coureur de bois*, soldier, governor, propagandist, writer and pioneer, who during three-quarters of a century played an important part in his country."

Of this remarkable man, the son of a farmer, who came to Canada in 1634, at the age of twelve, and raised himself to the post of governor of Three Rivers, Mr. Marion has produced a biography that will be very acceptable to the layman. Super-critics would have perhaps preferred a more chronological narrative to the division under various activities of his career. It may be that the author was influenced by the method of the "romantic biography" now so much in vogue. There is no doubt that he has rather a philosophical than purely historical trend in the treatment of his subject. But right here, one must remember the great difficulty in writing the life of such early pioneers, which is

the scarcity of documents and data. If one keeps this difficulty in mind, one will be satisfied that Mr. Marion has produced a creditable book, which presents a useful biography of an important man in the early history of New France. He has rightly included in his text the few autograph writings which have survived Boucher, and his book, in its last chapter, presents an interesting summary of the varied careers of the daughters, sons, and sons-in-law of this patriarch who left behind to keep up his good work fifteen children, all worthy of their father.

GUSTAVE LANCTOT

Wolfe in Scotland, in the '45, and from 1749 to 1753. By J. T. FINDLAY. London, New York, and Toronto: Longmans, Green & Co. 1928. Pp. viii, 328; illustrations.

James Wolfe, Man and Soldier. By W. T. WAUGH. Montreal: Louis Carrier & Co. 1928. Pp. 333; illustrations.

MR. FINDLAY'S book has pathetic interest, in that he died in October, 1927, just when the book was ready for the press. The publishers ask indulgence for possible errors, since a final revision was not made by the author. No apology is needed; Mr. Findlay, a Scot, "spent most of his life as a journalist in London" and employed the leisure of his later years in a study of Wolfe. Wolfe said some very uncomplimentary things about Scotland, but these Mr. Findlay does not resent. Scotland was much disturbed by the rising of '45, which Wolfe helped to suppress. The Highlanders were still barbarous, and there was bitter domestic strife over Jacobitism. Wolfe was quartered at Aberdeen, Stirling, Glasgow, Perth, Dundee, Banff, Inverness, and other places. Cumberland's brutal manners may well have angered householders on whom an officer who served under him was quartered, but Wolfe's tact usually made his involuntary hosts friendly.

The chief part of the book relates to conditions in Scotland from 1745 to 1753 and for students of that time and country have great value, for Mr. Findlay knew his Scotland. The interest of his book for Canada is in his view that Scotland taught Wolfe lessons useful in America. He emphasizes a close analogy between the operations in Scotland and before Quebec: a hostile country-side with its people alien in language and religion; and Wolfe in both "the spoiler of homes and families." Mr. Findlay's view is, perhaps, a little fanciful that in operations among Highland hills Wolfe learned what soldiers could do in climbing precipices and that this helped him to dare his last venture before Quebec.

Biography is at the present time in revolt against hero-worship, and the biographer is rather pleased when he can point out flaws in what

earlier writers would have called his hero. Professor Waugh has come to his task with the resolve not to be partial to Wolfe, and he gives in truth a rather merciless exposure of Wolfe's defects. He is pictured here as not, in his early soldiering days, really remarkable for special ability, but only for trying to do his duty among dull, self-indulgent fellow officers. He does not live on cordial terms with his parents, and he shows snobbery when he visits poor relations. He is rather affected—"pompous and sententious"—in his correspondence and, when before Quebec, writes a despatch which is disingenuous and misleading. He is superficial in his love affairs, and, for a time, leads a dissolute life. He is impetuous in speech, and rash predictions as to the result of operations cause him to be thought shallow and untrustworthy. A fierce temper makes him sometimes abusive and leads to trouble. He is, when angered, insolent to his superiors. Even before Quebec his tactical dispositions are crude, and he is on bad terms with Townshend and Murray, two of his three brigadiers. This is biography as now, in reaction against the pictures of the inspired hero, we like to have it; and Professor Waugh has done it skilfully.

There is, of course, the other side and this is not overlooked. Wolfe's claim to greatness is based upon that genius of a soldier which was born in him. The son of a mediocre British officer, he spent his whole life in military circles. He had an inspired devotion to the military career, and not much interest in anything else. This led to two chief qualities; one, an ardent study of the art of war; the other, the soldier's outlook upon life. To be a good soldier he takes infinite pains, and he has his reward; he is a major before he is twenty years old; a lieutenant-colonel in command of a regiment at twenty-three; and at thirty-two he dies on the field of battle with immortal fame. His soldier mind is not shocked at the atrocities of war, so long as they come under recognized military rules. The slaughter at Culloden does not disturb him, but he is defiant to Cumberland when asked to violate the rules of war and to shoot a prisoner: even a rebel, he considered, came under the rules. Says Professor Waugh (p. 12):

Kindly though he was by nature, he would punish breaches of discipline without mercy, he would record with satisfaction a great slaughter of the enemy, he would advise the massacre of a Highland clan, he would burn villages, he would destroy the nets and boats of poor fishermen; he would, in a word, do anything that the laws of war permitted. Frightfulness for its own sake he never indeed, countenanced. He played the game according to the recognized rules, but he would use every resource and take every advantage that those rules allowed him. Where they enjoined courtesy and forbearance, he was polite and merciful; in matters outside their sphere, he was always chivalrous and conciliatory. But, though he was a severe critic of himself, he would have been unmoved by the blame which

has been laid upon him for certain harsh actions which he was to commit in America and he would have despised the efforts of his apologists to palliate them.

After the fall of Louisbourg in 1758, Wolfe wrote to his mother that he was glad the place had surrendered. Had it been taken by storm the rules which he accepted would have led to terrible scenes:

The poor women have been heartily frightened, as well they might; but no real harm, either during the siege or after it, has befallen any. A day or two more, and they would have been entirely at our disposal. I was determined to save as many lives, and prevent as much violence as I could, because I am sure such a step would be very acceptable to you and very becoming.

There is Wolfe's whole attitude in a sentence or two. He wants no avoidable bloodshed, and is glad the women are safe. But if Louisbourg had been stormed, the women to whom he was so courteous "would have been entirely at our disposal"—that followed as a matter of course (p. 181).

Professor Waugh has drawn a real man with the outlook, and in the setting, of his time; and it will help right judgment to realize this. To-day the sorrows of the Acadians, for instance, stir hot passions, because the tale is one of horrid barbarity. But neither Wolfe, nor, it may be added, the leaders on the French side, would have thought their expulsion anything more than a normal operation of war. Wolfe devastated Gaspé and the villages on the Saint Lawrence as a simple act of duty which assuredly cost him no sleepless nights. If his limitations make us rather wonder at his achievement of greatness, this too Professor Waugh explains. Wolfe was a great soldier because he had imagination, and the quick insight which led to prompt action. He knew how to inspire confidence in himself as leader, for he was solicitous as to the needs of his men and watched closely details of food and lodging, of equipment and health. Wolfe cared much even for the health of his dogs and gave such wise directions about it that, as Professor Waugh says, "a sick dog was much more likely to receive rational treatment than a sick human being." No one could have spoken sharper words than Wolfe used as to the drunken brutality of the British soldier of the time; but every man who came under him knew that his leader really cared for his well-being. When in command of a regiment he knew every man in it, and aimed to make him a personal friend. This had much to do with the magic of Wolfe's success. And when we add to it the close study, the insight, which saw through what Professor Waugh calls "the dull, pedantic and self-complacent" advice of his three brigadiers in his last days, the capacity to keep his own counsel and the quick decision as to action, we have the secret of the deserved fame of a young leader. It is right that his superior officer Amherst

should have fallen into obscurity. Sir John Fortescue in his *History of the British Army* calls him a great organizer. So he was. But what value has organization which does not lead to action? After the landing at Louisbourg, which was due mainly to the leadership of Wolfe, Amherst waited nine days before doing anything that counted. He waited a whole summer and the better part of a second one in his advance on Montreal. We may imagine a different story had Wolfe been in chief command.

Professor Waugh's book is about Wolfe, "man and soldier", and the author is adequately equipped for such a task. He has real knowledge of the historical background. Throughout the book one sees that he has studied military history. He knows a good deal about the weapons of the time. He knows too the relations between army and navy, and he puts in its right place each of the services. The British navy had not that superiority on the sea which now we are likely to read into days earlier than the triumph at Trafalgar. The French ships were better built than the English, but the British excelled in the personnel of both officers and men; for, while in England the best social elements entered the navy, in France it was rather looked down upon as compared with the army. Moreover, the French were less naturally seafaring than were the people of the island nation. It is a singular fact that, while British folk-songs glorify triumphs on the sea, none has survived on the victories on land of Marlborough and Wellington; clearly the nation delights more in its sailors than in its soldiers. Yet we need be under no illusions as to the life of the sailor:

The British tar of Wolfe's day was no soaring soul; he was more likely a foul-mouthed, drunken, dissolute ruffian. Nor was he the smart, neat, clean sailorman of the picture-books; uniforms for the men had scarcely been suggested, and no captain insisted upon their being worn, with the result that a ship's company presented a grotesque, shabby, and sometimes even ragged appearance. The men were ill-paid, ill-fed, ill cared for. The amount of sickness among them was appalling. . . . An official return states that during the Seven Years' War 184,893 seamen and marines were employed in the British Navy. Of these 1512 were killed in action or by accident; 133,708 died of sickness or were missing. It is true that the missing outnumbered those who were known to be dead, numerous as these were. But this fact reminds us of another unpleasant feature of the times. The 'missing' were mostly deserters" (p. 199).

Professor Waugh has a gift of pungent phrasing. Wolfe was under the command of Marshal Wade, "whose incompetence seemed indispensable to whatever ministry was in power" (p. 46). Walpole's long peace was ended because "George II and many of his subjects wanted a war with some one" (p. 27). Wolfe "found (as one generally does in Canada) that the weather had been highly exceptional" (p. 204).

"Amherst's determination to have a first class siege" (p. 168) explains the slowness at Louisbourg under which Wolfe chafed. The author knows thoroughly the geography of both Louisbourg and Quebec, the scenes of Wolfe's efforts in America, and he has himself sketched two clear maps in the volume. A unique feature is the inclusion of caricatures in colour made by Townshend, who had that dangerous gift. There is malice in them. Townshend, secure in his high connections, ventured deliberately to annoy Wolfe by handing round sketches likely to cause a contemptuous laugh:

When the cartoons were circulated at mess, ostensibly as a joke, it was hard for Wolfe to take any action and a show of annoyance was precisely what Townshend wished to provoke. One night, however, a specially objectionable drawing was passed round the dining-table, and when it reached Wolfe he crumpled it up and threw it down with the words, 'If we live, this shall be enquired into; but we must first beat the enemy' (p. 249).

Professor Waugh mentions more than once the studies relating to Wolfe of the distinguished Canadian physician, Dr. J. Clarence Webster. There is nothing known about Wolfe which Dr. Webster has not examined and he is convinced that Wolfe's life would in any case, have been short, since he suffered from an incurable malady—tuberculosis of the kidneys. Professor Waugh repeats the stories of Wolfe's unheroic personal appearance and lays emphasis on his red hair and his "lanky figure and gawky gait." Undoubtedly, however, this adverse criticism of Wolfe's appearance has been over-done. "No one ever claimed that he was handsome," says Professor Waugh (p. 249). Yet this is precisely what is done by one of the leaders of the time, Lord Shelburne, who became the first Marquis of Lansdowne. Shelburne was a subaltern under Wolfe and wrote: "He was handsome in his person, thin, tall, well-made, with blue eyes, which rather marked life than penetration" (Fitzmaurice, *Life of Shelburne*, I, 71). It is not unlikely that the tradition of Wolfe's gawky appearance is due to Townshend's caricatures. Shelburne was a keen observer and his testimony ought to modify the received view. Professor Waugh gives no list of authorities, and this, too, is becoming a biographical fashion. His book is of high quality and, owing to its thoroughness of method and its balanced judgment, it should rank as a standard biography.

GEORGE M. WRONG

The John Askin Papers. Volume I: 1747-1795. Edited by MILO M. QUAIFE. Detroit: Detroit Library Commission. 1928. Pp. 657; illustrations.

THIS publication is of great interest to all students of the early history of Upper Canada, and by reason of the editor's notes, it is par-

ticularly valuable from the biographical point of view. The volume, based on the papers of John Askin which are now in the possession of the Burton Historical Collection in the Public Library of Detroit, has been very ably edited by Dr. M. M. Quaife, who is a well-known authority on the history of the North-west.

The editor has followed the admirable practice of making the printed page as nearly like the original as possible, and although the result may appear strange in such expressions as *quelquecho* for *quelque chose*, the historian will wholly approve the method adopted. Translations have been made of the French documents into English, and as a rule these are admirable. But is not the rendering of "Je vous Envoirai des provisions et Boison faits Bien de focir" (p. 164), defective? "I shall send you provisions and rum. Be sure to eat good and plenty." Is not the last clause the expression, by one who knew French only by ear, for "made with much care", "focir" being intended for "souci" with the long "s"?

An occasional slip occurs, as might be expected in so long a work. The most easterly of Dorchester's four Upper Country districts (1788) was not Lunenburg but Luneburg. The reason for Richard Cartwright not taking holy orders was not "the difficulties suffered by the church in the confusion growing out of the Revolution," but a trifling physical defect. Walter Roe had already received a licence to practise law when he went to Detroit, and the conjecture that he went there "as a warrant officer in the marine department" is almost certainly without foundation. It was not "Bram" who wrote on the office of justice of the peace, but "Burn." The surrender of Detroit in 1760 was not "negotiated" there, but at Montreal. The qualification for voting for members of the Legislative Assembly of Upper Canada was fixed by the Canada or Constitutional Act of 1791, 31 George III, c. 31, of the Imperial parliament. David William Smith was not knighted, he was created a baronet. Bâby was not president of the Legislative Council: that body was presided over by a speaker, who in Bâby's time was the chief justice (or for a few months, a puisne justice). "As an Administrator, Governor Simcoe . . . pursued a belligerent policy toward the United States which according to one authority was responsible for his recall from his governorship." Simcoe did not so act toward the United States: from beginning to end, he urged peaceful relations with the Republic; the Miami proceedings, upon which (and La Rochefoucault's statements) most of the charges of this kind are based, were taken upon the express orders of his military superior, Lord Dorchester. He was never recalled from his governorship: after many urgent requests to be allowed to return to England for the sake of his health, he was given

leave of absence: when he went to England in 1796, it was fully expected that he would shortly return, and it was only on his resignation in 1797 that he ceased to be lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada. It is a mistake to say that "he returned to England in 1794, served from 1794 to 1797 as commandant of St. Domingo . . .": he returned to England in 1796; near the end of that year he was appointed to San Domingo, but did not reach the island till late in February of 1797, returning to England later in the same year. Then, and not till then, did he resign the lieutenant-governorship of Upper Canada. Robert Hamilton was a judge, but not the first judge of the court of common pleas of the district of Nassau. "*Le dernière Equiper*" is not "the last equipment", but very bad French for "*le dernier equippeur*", the last equipper. These are trivial errors, but the same cannot be said of the slur on the memory of a loyal British subject and self-sacrificing public servant. It is said of William Elliot, who is truly stated to have "effectively served his country in the operations in Western Ohio from 1790 to 1794", and also in the War of 1812, that in 1776 it was "probably by reason of his government employment" that he "remained loyal to the King"—just as though a Southern writer were to say of General Scott that it was probably because of his government employment that he remained loyal to the Union, and did not, like Lee, go with his state. Whatever may have been the case in the past, the present generation of American writers as a rule admit the honest conviction of the United Empire Loyalists that revolution was not called for, as the descendants of the Roundheads admit the honest conviction in the same sense of the Cavaliers in the preceding century.

But leaving aside these mistakes—there are spots on the sun, and Homer sometimes nods—and coming to the contents of the book, the reader finds much to amuse, much to interest, no little to instruct. The public history of the Detroit region is full of thrilling and important incidents, like the conspiracy of Pontiac and the exploits of Mad Anthony Wayne, but on such events this volume throws little new light. It tells us much, however, about private and domestic affairs, business, and the life of common folk. The reader finds himself in the midst of an interesting society, where he may see illustrated such points as the enforcement of French civil law; the practice of slavery, negro as well as Indian; and the effects of alcohol upon the Indians. Fashions in women's dress find their place. "The hair is curled, hanging at the back and arranged in small curls in front with a piece of ribbon or a band of muslin round the head." Nor were the gowns knee-length. "All the ladies are wearing their skirts almost under their arms so as to raise the waistline. Sashes are about the width of a narrow collar, and are fastened at the

back with a buckle." A business man had no qualms in buying one, two, or even three, "boles of punch" in a day with a glass or two of brandy or an occasional gill of rum or glass of bitters. But then liquor was much cheaper in Detroit than at present: one could get a "bole of punch" for 1s. 6d.; a pint of rum was only 2s., and a pint of cider half as much.

The paper is excellent, the type clear, the binding first class, and I have not found a typographical error in all the 657 pages. It is all too seldom that this can be said of even a small volume. The succeeding part will be eagerly awaited.

WILLIAM RENWICK RIDDELL

The Papers of Sir William Johnson. Edited by ALEXANDER C. FLICK. Volume VI. Albany: The University of the State of New York. 1928. Pp. xiv, 789; illustrations.

THIS, the sixth printed volume of Sir William Johnson's papers, covers the period from December 13, 1767, to May 31, 1769. Johnson spent his life in the attempt to reconcile the interests of the fur-hunting Indians with those of land-hungry whites. Of special value, therefore, are the papers in this volume relating to the congress and treaty at Fort Stanwix in 1768, "the last of the several efforts of the English government to delay the entire absorption of the Indian lands by the migration of the colonists, and one of the last to appease the resentment of the Indians over the crimes committed against them by the frontiersmen." Other land cessions, such as the Kayaderosseras patent and the grant to the Susquehanna Company, find a large place in Johnson's correspondence at this time. During these years, the British government gave up its plan to control the Indian trade through commissaries stationed at the army posts, such as Niagara, Detroit, and Fort Pitt. Of special interest to students of Canadian history is the correspondence with factors and commandants in the western posts, George Croghan, Edward Cole, Daniel Claus, Norman MacLeod, and others.

A large number of the original Johnson papers at Albany, from which this work has been compiled, have been partially or totally destroyed by fire. Many of the gaps have been filled in from other manuscript sources, such as the Library of Congress, the Public Record Office, and the Harvard College Library. Had the Public Archives of Canada been as thoroughly examined, several contemporary copies of papers might have been found which would have been of much service in replacing a still greater number of the burnt originals. The Day calendar of the Johnson papers in Albany, which has been used in preparing the present publication, although it is an admirable piece of

work, does not make any attempt to list related papers in other archives, and, consequently, a mass of material on Indian conferences held by Johnson and his deputies has not found a place either in this, or in the previous volumes. In spite, however, of the omission of a considerable number of available documents which would have thrown much light on Sir William's policy, the historical department of the state of New York has made accessible in these volumes a source of information, whose importance can scarcely be over-estimated. It is hoped that a calendar and index of the whole work will accompany the last volume, and thus greatly enhance its value.

R. O. MACFARLANE

The Life of George Rogers Clark. By JAMES ALTON JAMES. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1928. Pp. xiv, 534; illustrations.

THE fourth book in two years upon a common subject has need to justify itself either by the importance of its matter or by the skill of its treatment. In 1926 appeared *George Rogers Clark: His Life and Public Services*, by Mr. Temple Bodley; and in 1927 there followed Mr. R. F. Lockridge's *George Rogers Clark: Pioneer Hero of the Old Northwest* and Dr. Milo M. Quaife's edition of Clark's and Hamilton's records of *The Capture of Old Vincennes*. Dr. James has devoted several years of research to this aspect of American history, and since 1908 he has been publishing his conclusions in historical journals. His scholarship is unmarred by national prejudice or by excessive admiration for his hero. To Clark is assigned only his just share of credit for the conquest of the Northwest. The book is, in fact, not a biography but a history of the times. There are chapters, and those not merely introductory, where Clark's name does not appear, and others where an incident in his career serves merely as a text for a dissertation upon Western history. It is a narrative of many details told without emphasis; and it fails to translate the vigorous personality of the soldier-statesman who captured Vincennes, subdued the Indian tribes, and himself wrote one of the most interesting of contemporary records. Clark is a difficult subject for a biographer. He was a man of one adventure—the conquest of the Illinois region at the beginning of the War of Independence. During the remaining years of war he advocated an aggressive policy on the frontier—the capture of Detroit and a decisive blow at the centre of Indian conspiracies; but his advice was unheeded or inadequately carried out. By the end of the war he was ruined financially, for he had pledged his own fortune for public services—generous behaviour which received meagre and tardy recognition after his death—and he was out of sympathy with the Federalists, who emerged as the political leaders of the new nation.

In later life he was involved in intrigues for the conquest of New Orleans and Louisiana, going so far as to hold a French military commission for that purpose. Indirectly, perhaps, these later years were fruitful, for he was an adviser of Jefferson, who purchased Louisiana. Although it has defects as a biography, the book contains much that is interesting. It affords glimpses into the lives of frontier families, in peace and in war; it shows how agricultural settlement progressed with incredible rapidity from point to point along the Ohio valley, and how the long-suffering pioneers had to struggle against land speculators and trade restriction. It tells a connected story of the diplomatic contest between France, Spain, England, and the United States for the Mississippi trade.

In chapter IV, on "The Illinois Country," there are a few errors which demand comment. On page 78, where the system of land tenure is described, there occurs a misleading and unnecessary comparison with Canada; and on page 87 the author states, incorrectly, that French law was extended to the Northwest by the Quebec Act, although he notes on page 88 that English criminal law was to be administered. The argument of a paragraph on page 85 is answered by the fact that the Proclamation of 1763 was not issued until October 7. And on pages 82-3 the author again appears to contradict himself in regard to the profits of English trade by the Ohio after the Seven Years' War. This route was, in practice, costlier than the "more circuitous route" by the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes, and the Pennsylvania traders who attempted it complained frequently of being hard pressed by their northern competitors.

MARJORIE GORDON JACKSON

The Taking of Ticonderoga in 1775: The British Story. By ALLEN FRENCH. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1928. Pp. vi, 90.

THE previously unprinted account of the taking of Ticonderoga from the British in 1775, which is here published, was written by Lieutenant Feltham, second in command of the garrison, about a month after the event for the information of General Gage. On the morning of May 10, 1775, the fort with some forty-five sleepy British soldiers was suddenly surprised by Ethan Allen and his Green Mountain boys together with sundry others, among them Benedict Arnold. Later records give a confused picture. There was, it seems, some brandishing of swords, talk (about which tradition has said much), a British officer, unfortunately for his dignity, *sans culotte*—and the fort passed into the hands of the embattled farmers, apparently without loss of life or limb. The real struggle took place later, for each of the conquering principals endeavoured to prove that his had been the leading rôle. Since then

various writers have rather added to the comic-opera element of the whole affair by vehemently arguing that Arnold was not there in an official position, for a certain type of historical fundamentalism demands that the traitor of later days should wherever possible be stripped of his laurels. To this Mr. French provides an antidote. The new material, the detailed examination of all previous evidence, and the satisfying, though restrained, conclusions lead one to feel that, pending the production of further evidence, the final word has been said.

GEORGE W. BROWN

Ira Allen, Founder of Vermont, 1751-1814. By JAMES BENJAMIN WILBUR. Two volumes. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1928. Pp. xiii, 544; vii, 570; illustrations.

The geographical situation of Vermont, with its northern border alongside the Eastern Townships in the province of Quebec, and the negotiations with the British authorities for its inclusion in British territory rather than in the American republic, endows the early history of the state with a certain interest for Canadian readers. Ira Allen, a brother of Colonel Ethan Allen, was the chief figure in the foundation and early development of the state. Vermont was not one of the original thirteen states which declared their independence, and its ultimate adherence to the national cause in 1791 followed a period of uncertainty as to what its course might be. Declared free from British rule by the terms of the treaty of peace in 1783, it was independent of outside control for some years, and the negotiations which took place under Governor Haldimand have long been accessible to students in the Canadian Archives. It was natural that the life of Ira Allen should be written, and the result is an elaborate work in two volumes which aims to set forth Allen's claims to honour and to clear his name from the aspersions which were cast upon it. Mr. Wilbur has gathered together a great deal of material, some of it not easily accessible hitherto. As it covers the whole career of Allen, the episode of the Canadian negotiations is but a part of the narrative, and the author's desire is to establish the loyalty of Vermont to the United States. A critical and impartial study of the evidence on this point would probably be preferable, and until this is made the biography of Ira Allen must take its place as a painstaking attempt to give the career of this Revolutionary figure its due place in history. The period was one of unsettled convictions and doubtful loyalties, and if the Vermont negotiators were really awaiting the issue of events, with a foot in either camp, it would be well to say so candidly. This book does not settle the question with any definiteness, although the author has many examples in biographical literature

for taking the side of his hero and presenting the best case for him. That Ira Allen had good qualities and played a difficult part in a stirring time with energy and courage is beyond doubt. The author's industry is commendable and he writes acceptably.

A. H. U. COLQUHOUN

Under the Red Jack: Privateers of the Maritime Provinces of Canada in the War of 1812. By C. H. J. SNIDER. Toronto: The Musson Book Company Limited. 1928. Pp. xii, 268; illustrations.

PRIVATEERING is an obscure and difficult subject. As a form of naval warfare it was discredited by both friend and foe. Records are meagre, scattered, and not easy to interpret. The men who sailed and fought "private vessels of war" did not write of their exploits. Such a work as Statham's *Privateers and Privateering* is a collection of narratives covering the centuries from Sir Andrew Barton to Godfrey of the *Rover*, and including the deeds of Jean Bart and Duguay-Trouin. The field is practically untouched and untilled. It has remained for a Canadian to write the first authoritative work on privateers which flew the British flag.

Mr. C. H. J. Snider has taken for his province the naval war of 1812. His previous works treated of the operations on inland waters, and single ship actions on the ocean. Though the ground had been already traversed by every historian of the war, Mr. Snider obtained important results. He showed, for example, under what hopeless conditions the British fought on the Great Lakes; and he confirmed and reinforced the conclusions of James. But, in *Under the Red Jack*, he breaks new ground. Except for a couple of papers in the *Collections* of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, nothing had been written on privateering in the Maritime Provinces. Now, wide and deep research into original documents, joined with enthusiasm for the subject and much experience of life at sea have enabled Mr. Snider to produce a work of prime importance. What was dark is now illumined.

Amongst his more important results is his vindication of the native privateersman's character. He was no licensed pirate. "The writer has yet to find one instance of cruelty, of personal robbery, of insult to women, or of wanton slaughter chargeable to the privateersmen of the Maritimes in the War of 1812." The legal status of privateers, the legal restraints upon their activities, their relations to prizes, re-captures, prize-courts, and the ships of the regular navy are here set forth clearly for the first time. Precise information is given regarding the arming, equipment, and interior organization of the various vessels in the story. This reviewer can point to no other such authority. Nor was the action

of the Maritime privateers without effect on the course of the war. They aided the navy in blockading the American ports. One tiny craft, the *Liverpool Packet*, under the command of daring Joseph Barrs, not only took fifty prizes, but so harried American commerce that coastwise traffic ceased and goods had to be transported by land. Boston papers even suggested the Cape Cod canal, to be free from this menace. Mr. Snider's gift for breezy narrative recalls boyhood's delight in the best pages of Marryat. The daring deeds of the *Dart*, the *Crown*, the *Retaliation*, the *Matilda*, the *Sir John Sherbrooke* are related with infectious gusto. The chapters on "Shaving mills" and letters-of-marque are packed with information, and much "broken stowage" is to be found in the "Jolly-boat" towing astern. Only a captious critic would ask how Mr. Snider came to know what was actually said in various crises.

ARCHIBALD MACMECHAN

The Greville Diary, including passages hitherto withheld from publication.
 Edited by PHILIP WHITWELL WILSON. Two volumes. Toronto:
 S. B. Gundy; New York: Doubleday, Page & Co. 1927. Pp. xiv,
 568; xvi, 602; illustrations.

IN this edition of the famous diary, Mr. Philip Whitwell Wilson claims to have added some passages hitherto omitted. Greville's descriptions were frequently marked by a relentless satire or a somewhat malicious tone, and few celebrities of his time escaped one treatment or the other. The numerous pen sketches of the great and the near great, etched with disconcerting realism, make racy reading but one should guard against basing an ultimate opinion of any individual upon the Greville evidence alone. He needs to be read with discrimination and discounts.

An interesting feature of the two bulky volumes is the references to Canadian affairs and the British leaders who had to do with them. Vivid portraits are drawn of outstanding figures like Lord Durham and Lord Ashburton. Much space is given to Durham and his secretaries, Buller and Wakefield, and the aftermath of the investigation into the perturbed Canadian conditions. Greville deals severely with Lord Durham both as a political force and as a navigator in troubled waters, and the reader feels that he failed to do justice to the man or his *Report*. "The Battle of the Maps," in connection with the Ashburton Treaty is dealt with by this old chronicler, special attention being given to the story of the discovery of the map that favoured the British and Canadian contention, and threw the American senate into perturbation. Many other details in the diary are of interest, such as the passing glimpses of Wellington in his relation to the troublesome Canada of his day. He

drew up at the time an elaborate scheme of defence for Canada in the 'forties when international relations were strained. The young Queen, whom Greville saw crowned, is kept informed as to Canadian conditions by the ever-faithful Melbourne. The same royal lady in later years, so Greville writes, objected to the then Prince of Wales visiting the United States during his trip in the early 'sixties, perhaps because of the alleged bitterness of "that old rascal, Buchanan" to anything and everything English; but the future King Edward went, nevertheless, and was exceedingly well received by the Americans—as indeed are all scions of royalty in that republican land.

Mr. Wilson's plan of mixing dates in order to follow a theme or a story makes a somewhat confusing chronology, but all the old-time piquancy of the diarist is preserved in this new edition, while the explanatory and connecting notes of the editor add to its value.

FRANK YEIGH

L'île d'Orléans. Publiée par la Commission des Monuments Historiques de la Province de Québec. [Edited by P.-G. Roy.] Québec: Ls.-A. Proulx. 1928. Pp. vii, 505; illustrations.

THE Historic Monuments Commission of the province of Quebec has now added to its fine volumes on the old churches and houses of the province an even finer volume on the island of Orleans. The volume is under the same learned and able editorship of M. Roy. The Commission is modest about its new production. "It makes no claim," says the preface, "to have produced a complete history of the island of Orleans. It has confined itself to the record of events and local happenings in danger of being lost. Yet it may be said that everything of note in the history of the island in one direction or another is here referred to; the history and description of the seigniories and farms, the names of the seigniors, early missionaries and priests, of persons of note born on the island, or who have lived there, or who there rest in their last sleep."

The volume is, however, far more than a mere record of names and dates. M. Roy has drawn on all available sources old and new, from the early voyages or the *Jesuit Relations* down to the modern histories of the island, so that no one interested in that history can afford to neglect this volume.

The varied record of the island's story is lavishly, indeed magnificently, illustrated. Most notable and most numerous of the many reproductions of pictures are those of Mr. Horatio Walker, a son of the island. These pictures, many of them in colours, are supplemented by a large number of full page photographs, sketches, reproductions of early

maps of the island and of early documents. It is perhaps to be regretted that a fuller list of the illustrations is not included, so eminent a part do they play in this truly sumptuous volume.

R. FLENLEY

A History of Canada. By CARL WITTKÉ. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1928. Pp. xiv, 397, xviii; maps.

As evidence of the increasing interest in the study of Canadian history in American colleges and universities, comes this new *History of Canada* by Carl Wittke, professor of history in the Ohio State University. The appearance of such a study will be welcomed by teachers of history not only in the United States but in Canada. Specialists in Canadian history have been so pre-occupied in their own particular fields that down to the present there has been produced no satisfactory brief synthesis of Canadian history, conforming sufficiently to modern standards of scholarship and research to be suitable for a college text. This lack has now been met by Mr. Wittke who has placed every college teacher and student of Canadian history profoundly in his debt.

The arrangement of Mr. Wittke's material is both interesting and significant. In contrast with the tendency to regard anything which happened after 1867 as scarcely in the category of history, he has purposely stressed the last sixty years. He covers the French period and the early British period down to 1791 in six chapters. The following eleven chapters deal with the period down to Confederation; while the remaining chapters—fourteen in number—trace the history of Canada to the present. Constitutional and political details are subordinated throughout to the larger sweep of Canadian history, more attention thus being given to economic and social factors in Canada's growth. The influence of the frontier, the growth of radical sentiment, immigration, the development of town life, transportation, the growth of Big Business, the labour movement, the farmers' movement, are but a few of the important topics dealt with. When treated against the appropriate American background these topics reveal interesting similarities and contrasts which are essential for Canadians as well as Americans to understand.

The book is a conscientious and discriminating piece of work, and very few errors have been noticed. In discussing the privileged position of the Church of England in Upper Canada, Mr. Wittke incorrectly assumes that Quakers in common with other dissenters were under religious disabilities, especially with regard to marriages (p. 101). As a matter of fact by virtue of the Hardwicke Act of 1753, Quakers were prior to 1859 in a more advantageous position with regard to marriage

regulations than any other nonconformist group in Canada. The author gives as one of Durham's recommendations that "All revenue Bills should originate in the assembly and should be sponsored by the cabinet" (p. 116). On the contrary Durham said in his *Report*: "I should also recommend what appears to me an essential limitation on the present powers of representative bodies in these colonies. I consider good government not to be attainable while the present unrestricted powers of voting public money . . . are lodged in the hands of the Assembly". In view of such a statement as this and in view of the powers which Durham would reserve for the Imperial government—constituting in effect a denial of the principle of responsible government—is it really "clear", as Mr. Wittke says, "that by responsible government Durham meant a cabinet responsible to the majority of the elective Lower House" (p. 116-17)? It is doubtful whether any one knows precisely what Durham meant by responsible government, since he had no opportunity of really working out his idea. Accordingly he has been generally credited with a more liberal conception of responsible government than anything in the *Report* would warrant. Moreover, Edward Gibbon Wakefield was not "in the official party of Lord Durham" (p. 114), since the public scandal of Wakefield's run-away match and subsequent imprisonment made it impossible for Durham to employ him in any official capacity.

A few slight errors have been noted in names. Auguste Norbert Morin appears variously as: A. S. Morin, Augustus Morin and Augustin Morin. "Judge Cassals" (p. 324) is evidently intended for Sir Walter Cassels. This mistake also appears in the index. Ontario is used for Upper Canada (p. 87). The index is very complete and accurate, though the reference to Prof. John Bracken is incorrect, page 256 instead of 356. In one of his admirable sections dealing with the social life of Canada, Mr. Wittke makes early modes of transportation unnecessarily hazardous by inaccurately describing a corduroy road as consisting of "stumps laid over muddy parts of the route . . . over which the coaches rolled and plunged" (p. 75); any vehicle would under those conditions. But surely logs placed side by side produced sufficient discomfort without introducing stumps as the principal constituent of a corduroy road. There are a few literary lapses, or are they "Americanisms"? "Located" is used for discovered (p. 5); "caucused" is rather an unusual verb (p. 300); and in the very nature of things can anything "center around" anything else (72, 298)?

Mr. Wittke is to be congratulated on the production of a book which in its last ten chapters presents a fresh and valuable synthesis of recent Canadian history. He has written with insight and balanced

judgment; and, while many of the opinions which he expresses—because the events are so recent—will be subject as time goes by to revision, nevertheless he has given a useful lead to all who would venture beyond the beaten trails of earlier Canadian history into the scarcely trodden paths of the more complex and varied development since Confederation.

ARTHUR GARRATT DORLAND

History of Canada. By DUNCAN MCARTHUR. Toronto: W. J. Gage and Co. 1927. Pp. viii, 536; illustrations; maps.

A First Book of Canadian History. By W. STEWART WALLACE. Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada. 1928. Pp. viii, 246; illustrations; maps.

THE recent *History of Canada* by Professor Duncan McArthur, of Queen's University, is designed as a text-book for high schools throughout the Dominion. The first 354 pages are devoted to the period down to and including Confederation, while the remaining 154 pages deal with the last sixty years of Canadian history, including the Great War. Though this arrangement of material might at first glance suggest a text-book of the traditional type, Professor McArthur has broken fresh ground by including a good deal of matter relating to the social and economic life of Canada not heretofore included in a high school text. The importance placed on the development of the West in Canadian history is also a noteworthy feature of the book. The author has devoted sections and sometimes whole chapters to such topics as the Indians, exploration and early settlement, the life of the people of French Canada, the church in New France, the fur-trade, pioneer problems in early Upper Canada, the settlement of the West, the development of the Western and Maritime provinces, relations with the United States and external relations, and a final chapter on Canadian literature and art.

If, for a text of this kind, the narrative is rather heavily loaded with facts, the book is a veritable mine of information and a useful general book of reference. There is a full and accurate index, a brief bibliography of the best references arranged according to periods and subjects, and there are many excellent maps. The illustrations are numerous, and some of them are of unique historical interest, greatly enhancing the value of the text. Within the limitations placed upon a work of this kind, Mr. McArthur has produced a valuable and comprehensive history of Canadian progress, ably interpreting those forces which have delayed or hastened as the case may be, the growth of a Canadian nation.

The little history of Canada by Mr. Stewart Wallace of the University of Toronto, has been authorized by the Minister of Education for the

public schools of Ontario. The tendency noted above to break away from the traditional type of text-book is even more marked in this volume. A profusion of dates and an over elaboration of detail are avoided in favour of a simple topical treatment. At the head of each chapter is an apt quotation or stanza of poetry—frequently from a Canadian source—which enhances the literary flavour and the distinctly Canadian character of the book. Source material is frequently allowed to tell its own story; as when the diary of a harness maker in Calgary is used to illustrate the nature of a Western “boom”; or when a quotation from a contemporary letter is used to give a vivid impression of a political figure, such as W. L. Mackenzie or George Brown. There are numerous illustrations among which the vigorous drawings of Mr. C. W. Jefferys are specially noteworthy—and there are excellent maps, of which two are placed inside the front and back covers of the book.

ARTHUR GARRATT DORLAND

The Evolution of Government in Canada. By WILLIAM SMITH. With an introduction by A. G. DOUGHTY. [Ottawa:] National Committee of the Diamond Jubilee of Confederation. 1928. Pp. 274; illustrations in colour by CHARLES W. SIMPSON, R.C.A.

THIS brief survey is issued as a memorial volume for the celebration of the diamond jubilee of Confederation, and its national character is emphasized by publication of the text in both English and French on opposite pages. The illustrations by Mr. Simpson, perpetuating the costumes and scenes of early days in Canadian government, would alone make the book noteworthy.

Evolution is a happy word as applied to government in Canada. By easy stages, with little strife, save in 1837, the “transfer of power from the state to the people,” in Dr. Doughty’s happy phrase, has been accomplished. That slight progress in liberalizing the government was made during the French *régime* has been a subject for much comment, but Mr. Smith is impressed by the difficulties of the governing authorities, and doubts if any other nation could have done better. The critical years which followed the conquest, with the coming of British merchants, were only survived through the wise guidance of General Murray, friend of the French, but a just and far-seeing governor. The passing of the Quebec Act, the coming of the Loyalists, and the creation of representative assemblies after 1791 are all given their proper place in the story of the development of Canadian political institutions. With regard to the concession of responsible government, historians usually attach special significance to the governorship of Lord Elgin, but Mr. Smith places the emphasis upon the day of the foundation of the first Baldwin-

Lafontaine government in September, 1842, despite the cloudy years which were to follow:

That was a momentous day in the history of Canada. A union forced upon an unwilling half of the people by a peremptory statute was converted into a union acquiesced in by the whole body, and, please God, destined to be indissoluble. The foundations of the Dominion were firmly laid that day.

The narrative stops somewhat abruptly with little detail of the Confederation struggle. That, however, is familiar through other works. A postscript might have been added, also, to include the "equal status" declaration of the Imperial Conference of 1926.

M. O. HAMMOND

The History of Trade-Union Organization in Canada. By HAROLD A. LOGAN. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1928. Pp. xiv, 427.

As stated in the preface, "the aim of this work is to give a general survey of trade-union organization in Canada from its beginnings down to the present. The manner of approach is to follow as far as possible the chronological order of events, and the method is mainly descriptive. With this conception of the task I have sought to present the facts clearly and without prejudice, introducing only a limited amount of interpretation."

In his appointed task Professor Logan has succeeded quite well. With great pains he has dug into the important sources of information for a history of Canadian trade unionism, and has marshalled very clearly the essential facts of that development. His book is a mine of information, and for its publication the student of Canadian economics and history will feel heartily grateful. But it is unfortunate that Professor Logan ventured upon so little interpretation. He does not lead us to the broad highway of general principles, as Sidney and Beatrice Webb do in their books on British trade unionism. A succession of chapters closely packed with descriptive details is apt to be wearying to the average reader, even when he may have a genuine interest in trade-union development. Moreover we miss interpretation rightly expected in such a work. It is not made clear why trade unionism in Canada is weak in comparison with the trade unionism of Australia, or indeed with that of the United States. Why has it not played a more important rôle in the politics of Canada? Why does the Year Book of the International Federation of Trade Unions, issued in 1925, place Canada almost at the bottom of a table showing the percentage of organized workers to total population in twenty-four countries? Canada's percentage is practically that of Poland, which is at the bottom of the list.

In addition Professor Logan might have shown us more distinctly the relation between trade-union organization and the ebb and flow of industrial prosperity. He does not by any means neglect this aspect of the subject, but a fuller treatment and more boldness in interpretation would have made the matter more illuminating. Admirable enough in his work so far as he goes, we can only wish that he had gone further.

ALEXANDER BRADY

The Downfall of Temlaham. By MARIUS BARBEAU. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1928. Pp. xii, 253; illustrations in colour.

To the Indians of North America the coming of Europeans was a cataclysm; eager to obtain trade goods they neglected their usual tasks in order to hunt skins for the white man; metal tools and utensils replaced their own laborious handiwork; tribal lands were occupied by the new-comers; authority waned as chiefs found themselves in the presence of those greater than themselves; new diseases decimated the population, and new beliefs, disturbing alike to religious and social customs, dislocated the delicate equilibrium of society. Whole tribes did not know in which direction to turn, and the disruption of communal rites handed down from dim antiquity left individuals rudderless at a time when changed conditions demanded the greatest stability of character. The white man may belittle the culture of the Indians, but to them it was a proud heritage, hallowed by the precepts of their ancestors, and its disappearance has been a deep and soul-revealing tragedy.

It is of this tragedy that Mr. Barbeau writes, as it appeared to the Gitksan of the upper Skeena river, in northern British Columbia, some forty years ago. He weaves his story—the incidents have been collected from the older people—around a young Indian couple; the husband wishes to adopt the white man's ways; the wife, conservative, regards his failure to follow tribal customs as impious, and his unwillingness to obtain a chieftain's position for their young son as contemptible. She prevails; the lad is ceremonially inducted, but a jealous rival casts a spell and he dies—with many others—in an epidemic of measles. The heart-broken mother blames the spell-thrower and goads her husband into murdering him in revenge. A vendetta is barely averted by the elders on payment of much blood-money, and the excitement has practically abated when a worthless white man, eager for a little authority, persuades the government that the Indians have rebelled by failing to appeal to Canadian law. News of the impending punitive expedition reopens the old wounds;

those who have accepted presents from the murderer return them in dread of being implicated, and he himself, though still yearning to follow the new ways, flees to the interior. Believing that a white judge would regard his crime as justifiable, he later returns to give himself up, but is shot down by a callous special constable. The Gitksan, seething, discuss a raid on the nearest white post but are pacified by a promise that the over-zealous official shall be punished. The account ends with the acquittal of the prisoner, leaving the uncomprehending Indians to brood over what they regard as a broken promise and a miscarriage of justice. It is a simple story, the kind of thing that must have happened repeatedly in all parts of the continent but has remained undescribed by Indian and contemporary author alike; by the former, through inability to write, by the latter, through ignorance of the native point of view.

In connection with this series of events, the author has been able to describe much of the rich ceremonial life of the coastal peoples of British Columbia. The masks, the dancing, the singing, the all-important influence of ancestral prerogatives are apparent, and discursive dialogues illustrate the long-winded and grandiloquent oratory of the chiefs, while myths—historical accounts to the Gitksan—are represented by three typical legends. The distinctive art of the people is indicated in paintings of Skeena scenes by well-known artists, their works, beautifully reproduced in colour, adding to the attractiveness of the book. The volume should appeal to the general public, while anthropologists and historians will look forward to the author's scientific report for details of the practices to which he here refers casually.

T. F. McILWRAITH

The People of the Twilight. By DIAMOND JENNESS. With an introduction by FRIDTJOF NANSEN. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1928. Pp. xii, 247; illustrations; maps.

LIFE among primitive peoples belongs to the realm of boyhood fiction for most of us, or at least to tales of adventure of bygone days in lands far away. In this prosaic century it sounds unreal for an author to say (p. 31):

Light [a woman's name] was charming as a hostess. She licked my plate before each meal that I might eat from a clean dish, and when handing me boiled seal meat from her steaming pot she squeezed it tenderly between thumb and forefinger that no surplus juice might drip on my clothing. Lacking candy, she showered on me the national substitute, delicate cubes of oily seal-blubber; but, lacking the national taste, I slipped most of them surreptitiously to the dogs.

Yet this took place in Canada, and no earlier than 1914.

Jenness, as ethnologist to the Canadian Arctic Expedition of 1913-18,

spent almost two years among the Eskimo of Coronation Gulf at a time when they had had practically no contact with Europeans. His scientific works¹ show that he took full advantage of his opportunities for study; here he describes in charming style experiences which would have been termed dangerous adventures by a less modest author. Most anthropologists work among those whose culture has already been altered by the white man; to Jenness fell the more difficult, but more satisfactory rôle of investigating by sharing the life of his people. And his descriptions, with many personal anecdotes, bring vividly to the reader the arduous existence of the Eskimo (p. 243):

Nature had not been kind to their land. The winters were long and severe, the summers too short and too late in their arrival to permit the growth of fruits or cereals. Isolated from the great world outside, my (adopted) parents, like all their tribesmen, could maintain themselves only on what the country itself provided—meat and fish in the spring and summer, fish and meat again in the fall and winter. Permanent homes they had none; life was a perpetual wandering in search of food, a wandering that ended only with death. The winter's twilight had shown me their blurred forms dragging the overburdened sleds from one sealing-ground to another to escape the threat of famine; and the midnight sun had shone on husband, wife, and little daughter, weighted down with heavy packs, stumbling over the trackless land to a new fishing-lake in the hope of breaking their fast before another sleep. Food, clothing, and shelter, those primal necessities that generally come so easily to dwellers in more temperate climes, demanded from them ceaseless effort, until the desperate battle to preserve life seemed almost to nullify any purpose for life. Only an invincibly optimistic race, patient, hardy, and good-tempered, could have wrestled with this environment and survived.

Jenness writes of this ceaseless struggle as he knew it when, leaving his white companions, he lived with an Eskimo family for seven months. The fear of famine often with them, he shared their search for seal in winter, and for fish and caribou in summer; he noted their mechanical ingenuity and hunting skill, their industry and patience, their trust in wily shamans; he saw them in times of gladness and sorrow, of hostility and at friendly gatherings; he shared the arduous seasonal movements dictated by the climate and by the game. While not minimizing the weaknesses of the Eskimo, the author emphasizes their hospitality and unfailing kindness to members of their social group, a characteristic which he himself experienced repeatedly as an adopted son, a kindness not less sincere because shown in a strange setting, as witness the plate-licking incident.

The difference in culture between Eskimo and Europeans is so great

¹Report of the Canadian Arctic Expedition 1913-18: Vol. XII: *The Life of the Copper Eskimos*; Vol. XIII, Part A: *Myths and Traditions from Northern Alaska, the Mackenzie Delta and Coronation Gulf*; Vol. XIII, Part B: *Eskimo String Figures*; and (with Helen H. Roberts) Vol. XIV: *Eskimo Songs*.

that contact of the two races is apt to lead to annihilation of the former. New ideas, new wants, new foods must be introduced slowly if new diseases and altered conditions are not to reduce the population to a mere remnant, as has been the case in many parts of the Arctic. The comparative health and prosperity of the Eskimo in Greenland show that this tragedy can be averted: what will happen around Coronation Gulf? The answer depends upon our wisdom.

T. F. McILWRAITH

A Dog-puncher on the Yukon. By ARTHUR TREADWELL WALDEN. With an introduction by WALTER COLLINS O'KANE. Montreal: Louis Carrier & Co. 1928. Pp. xviii, 290; illustrations.

THE narrative of the author's experiences goes back thirty years and more to the early discoveries of gold on the tributaries of the Yukon river in Canada and Alaska. He was not a miner himself except to a very limited extent, but earned his living for the most part by freighting supplies with a team of dogs. He made his first entry into the Yukon District in 1896 from Dyea over the Chilkoot pass, and a second time in 1898 over the White pass from Skagway. He knew the notorious ruffian Soapy Smith, and relates his end. He also was a witness of the vigilant activity of the Mounted Police at the border and pays his tribute to their successful management of a very difficult situation:

The brutality and lawlessness, I am sorry to say, were practically all on the American side of the line. It seemed almost as if, after stepping off the mud into the snow, which was near the boundary, everything was absolutely changed. Here a little bunch of North-West Mounted Police held sway. How they managed it goodness only knows, but they did.

There is nothing absolutely new in Mr. Walden's reminiscences, but they have the atmosphere and flavour of the old days and make very acceptable reading.

H. H. LANGTON

Betwixt Heaven and Charing Cross. By MARTIN BURRELL. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1928. Pp. x, 328.

OF the essays and addresses contained in this volume by the librarian of the Canadian parliament, the greater part are literary, and beyond saying that they are, as one would expect, written with charm and insight, one need not say anything further about them here. There are, however, three or four essays in the collection which touch upon the history of Canada. The first of these is a delightful chapter on "Old Niagara", inspired by a reading of William Kirby's *Annals of Niagara*;

the second is an appreciation of the career in Canada of Thomas D'Arcy McGee; and the third is a valuable chapter on "Hansard." In this Mr. Burrell recounts, for the first time so far as we are aware, the history of parliamentary reporting in Canada as well as in England and the United States. As might be expected in an essay somewhat popular in tone, Mr. Burrell does not deal with the subject in a laboriously exhaustive way, and one finds for instance no mention of the *Mirrors of parliament* which enjoyed brief periods of existence in Canada during the period of the union. But the account of the history of "Hansard" since Confederation is admirably clear and accurate, and should be of great assistance to all those who have to delve in Canada among the public documents of the past.

W. S. WALLACE

More Candid Chronicles: Further Leaves from the Note Book of a Canadian Journalist. By HECTOR CHARLESWORTH. Toronto: The Macmillan Co. of Canada. 1928. Pp. xv, 429.

THE second instalment of Mr. Charlesworth's recollections and experiences deals with incidents in his career as a newspaper reporter; with certain crime mysteries; with the acquaintances made as dramatic critic; and with several notabilities in Canadian life, such as Sir John Willison, Peter Ryan, and George Ham. While some of the author's reminiscences demand familiarity with the history and personages of Toronto, the substance of the book appeals to a wider interest. There is an interesting interview with Sir William Mulock, who is accurately described as a picturesque figure, and some of the half-forgotten records of the students' strike at the University of Toronto are recalled. The Kinrade murder at Hamilton and the Ambrose Small disappearance in Toronto are set down as unsolved mysteries. Some revelations of the Gamey episode in Ontario politics are new. The author is not chary about advancing his own views on men and things, but nowhere is the satire severe or the strictures without basis. The gossip of the stage is especially interesting, and there is a note of authority in the estimates of famous actors and actresses. The book is of value in providing background and atmosphere to historical events and figures of importance, a department of Canadian literature which is scanty, as writers of our history are aware. The journalist accumulates much material of value which, for one reason or another, never finds its way into the press. The work, from this point of view, is not ephemeral although light and readable.

A. H. U. COLQUHOUN

The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs, 1927-28. Founded by J. CASTELL HOPKINS. Toronto: The Canadian Review Company. [1928.] Pp. 869; illustrations.

So far as we know, there is no country but Canada which has such a useful review of its affairs as this yearly periodical. Its English prototype, the *Annual Register*, is much less detailed and exhaustive; and even countries like the United States and Germany have nothing comparable with it. It covers practically every phase of public affairs from international relations to sporting events; and its twenty-seven volumes constitute a mine of accurate and well-indexed information with regard even to the less important details of Canadian history since 1900. Writers on public affairs in Canada do not perhaps realize how exceptionally fortunate they are in having such a tool at their hands.

In the present volume there are some special features. There is an account of the diamond jubilee of Confederation in 1927, and an account of the conference between representatives of the Dominion and the provinces held in the same year. A separate section is devoted also to the St. Lawrence development, and the problems connected with it. Another new feature is a statistical survey of the year 1927 in Canada, by Mr. R. H. Coats, the Dominion statistician. Apart from these there are the usual sections dealing with imperial affairs, federal politics, the history of the various provinces, immigration and colonization, transportation and communication, industries, and commerce, labour conditions, banking, finance and insurance, literature, history, music, drama and art, journalism, the churches, scientific progress, and so forth. In the supplement are included valuable reports of railways, banks, and other corporations. As usual, the obituary is remarkably full and accurate.

The only criticism we have to offer is that the annual list of books and pamphlets published in Canada still lacks some of those bibliographical details—such as format, pagination, and price—for which one looks.

W. S. WALLACE

RECENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA

(Notice in this section does not preclude a later and more extended review.)

I. THE RELATIONS OF CANADA WITHIN THE EMPIRE

The birth-rate and the British Commonwealth (Round Table, September, 1928, pp. 777-797).

The problem of the declining birth-rate in the British Isles is treated in relation to the emigration question.

CORBETT, PERCY ELLWOOD, and SMITH, HERBERT ARTHUR. *Canada and world politics: A study of the constitutional and international relations of the British Empire*. Toronto: The Macmillan Co. of Canada, Ltd. 1928. Pp. xvi, 244.

Reviewed on page 337.

A Frenchman on the British Empire (Round Table, September, 1928, pp. 714-726).

An interesting and penetrating analysis of the problems and significance of the Empire.

GISBORNE, F. A. W. *Democracy on trial, and other essays*. London and Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co. 1928. Pp. ix, 222.

A collection of papers by an Australian historian, among which is one on "The problem of imperial federation" and another on "The Dominions and the House of Lords."

SCHUYLER, R. L. *Parliament and the dominions: A retrospect* (Cambridge Law Journal, vol. III, No. ii, 1928, pp. 209-239).

A valuable discussion of the theory that the English parliament "never possessed lawful authority outside the realm of England."

II. HISTORY OF CANADA

(1) General History

BURNET, EDMUND C. (ed.) *Letters of members of the Continental Congress. Volume IV, January 1 to December 31, 1779* (Carnegie Institution of Washington: Publication No. 299, volume IV.) Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institute of Washington. 1928. Pp. lxvi, 581.

Contains a few references to Canada.

BURRELL, MARTIN. *Between heaven and Charing Cross*. Toronto: The Macmillan Co. of Canada, Ltd. 1928. Pp. x, 328. (\$3.50.)

Reviewed on page 363.

BUTLER, J. R. M. *Note on the origin of Lord John Russell's despatch of Oct. 16, 1839, on the tenure of Crown offices in the colonies* (Cambridge Historical Journal, vol. II, No. 3, 1928, pp. 248-251).

New light on an important episode in the development of British Colonial policy.

FINDLAY, J. T. *Wolfe in Scotland, in the '45 and from 1749 to 1753*. London and Toronto: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1928. Pp. viii, 328; illustrations.

Reviewed on page 341.

GARNEAU, F. X. *Histoire du Canada*. Septième édition, revue et annotée par HECTOR GARNEAU. Tome I. Paris: Librairie Félix Alcan. 1928. Pp. viii, 609.

A reissue of the first volume of the edition of Garneau's history published with notes and revisions by his grandson in 1913.

HENDERSON, JOHN. *Great men of Canada: Life stories of a few of Canada's great men told in narrative form.* Toronto: Published for the government of Ontario by Southam Press Limited. 1928. Pp. 239; illustrations.

A book intended for supplementary reading in the public schools of Ontario.

HUGHES, CHARLES EVANS. *Our relations to the nations of the western hemisphere.* (The Stafford Little Lectures.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1928. Pp. viii, 124.

Reviewed on page 335.

JAMES, JAMES ALTON. *The life of George Rogers Clark.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1928. Pp. xiv, 534.

Reviewed on page 349.

McARTHUR, DUNCAN. *What is the immigration problem?* (Queen's Quarterly, Autumn, 1928, pp. 603-614).

A discussion of the "serious national problem" of immigration into Canada.

The Peace Pact (Round Table, September, 1928, pp. 727-745).

A discussion of the agreement resulting from the Briand-Kellogg negotiations, as the most significant event since the signature of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

WAUGH, W. T. *James Wolfe, man and soldier.* Montreal: Louis Carrier & Co. 1928. Pp. 333.

Reviewed on page 341.

(2) New France

DAVELUY, MARIE-CLAIRE. *Charlotte Barré, 1620-1701* (L'action canadienne-française, septembre, 1928, pp. 185-192).

A slight biographical notice of one of the associates of Mère Marie de l'Incarnation.

LANCOT, GUSTAVE. *Les premiers budgets de la Nouvelle France* (Canada français, octobre, 1928, pp. 75-87).

An essay on the history of public finance in New France.

MASSICOTTE, E. Z. *Les arrêts, édits, ordonnances, mandements et règlements conservés à Montréal* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, septembre, 1928, pp. 520-527).

An account of material relating to the history of New France recently discovered in the archives of the Palais de Justice at Montreal.

POIRIER, PASCAL. *Le parler Franco-Acadien et ses origines.* Québec: Imprimerie Franciscaine Missionnaire. 1928. Pp. 339.

To be reviewed later.

ROY, ANTOINE. *Les sources imprimées de l'histoire du Canada français* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, octobre, 1928, pp. 607-615; novembre, 1928, pp. 691-704).

A list of articles on Canadian history in French-Canadian periodicals.

Les vaisseaux du roi au Canada de 1726 à 1748 (Bulletin des recherches historiques, novembre, 1928, pp. 665-666).

A list of visits of royal ships to Canada between 1726 and 1748.

(3) British North America before 1867

ADAMS, RANDOLPH G. *The papers of Lord George Germain: A brief description of the Stopford-Sackville papers now in the William L. Clements Library* (The William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Bulletin No. 18). Ann Arbor: The William L. Clements Library. 1928. Pp. 46; illustrations.

An account of the contents of the Germain papers, with photographic reproductions of many of the documents.

Benjamin West's "The Death of Wolfe." (The William L. Clements Library Bulletin No. 17.) Ann Arbor: The William L. Clements Library. 1928. Pp. 17.

A description of the famous historical painting.

FREGEAU, F. D. *A Kaministiquia centennial* (Thunder Bay Historical Society Thirteenth Annual Report, 1922, pp. 7-10).

A synopsis of the events leading up to the amalgamation of the North West Company with the Hudson's Bay Company.

FRENCH, ALLEN. *The taking of Ticonderoga in 1775: The British story. A study of captors and captives.* Based upon material hitherto unpublished. Cambridge: At the Harvard University Press. 1928. Pp. vi, 90; frontispiece.

Reviewed on page 350.

HAMILTON, COLONEL C. F. *The Canadian militia from 1816 to the Crimean war* (Canadian Defence Quarterly, July, 1928, pp. 462-473).

The early history of the Canadian militia.

— *The Canadian militia from the Crimean war to 1861* (Canadian Defence Quarterly, October, 1928, pp. 36-48).

A chapter in the history of the Canadian militia.

HARROP, A. J. *The amazing career of Edward Gibbon Wakefield: with extracts from "A Letter from Sydney" (1829).* London: George Allen and Unwin. 1928. Pp. 253.

To be reviewed later.

HERRINGTON, M. ELEANOR (comp.). *Lennox and Addington Historical Society Papers and Records.* Vol. xiii: *The Napanee Standard, 1866.* Napanee, Ontario: Published by the Society. 1928. Pp. 42.

Extracts from a Napanee newspaper published in the year before Confederation.

MCARTHUR, D. *Confederation, an economic movement* (Journal of the Canadian Bankers' Association, July, 1927, pp. 416-423).

An interesting and suggestive paper.

MEREDITH, LIEUTENANT R. B. *The siege of Quebec, 1775-1776* (Canadian Defence Quarterly, October, 1928, pp. 88-95).

A brief account of the siege of Quebec by the Americans in 1775-1776.

O'NEIL, MARION. *The Peace River Journal, 1799-1800* (Washington Historical Quarterly October, 1928, pp. 250-270).

The fur-trade journal of the Rocky Mountain Fort on the south side of the Peace river from the autumn of 1799 to the spring of 1800.

PENDLETON, GEORGE. *The progress of a governor: a fur-trade episode of a hundred years ago* (The Beaver, September, 1928, pp. 54-5).

An extract from the diary of Sir George Simpson.

QUAIFE, M. M. *Detroit biographies: Robert Rogers* (Burton Historical Collection Leaflet. Vol. VII. No. 1.) Detroit: Detroit Public Library. 1928. Pp. 16.

A sketch of the rôle played by Rogers in the development of Michigan and the Northwest.

WOOD, WILLIAM (ed.). *Select British documents of the Canadian war of 1812.* With an introduction. In three volumes: Volume III, Part II. Toronto: The Champlain Society. 1928. Pp. 543-1061.

To be reviewed later.

(4) The Dominion of Canada

[CANADA: DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR.] *National Parks of Canada: Report of the commissioner; year ending March 31, 1927.* Ottawa: F. A. Acland. 1928. Pp. 25.

An illustrated account of the administration and development of Canada's national parks during 1927.

- CHARLESWORTH, HECTOR. *More candid chronicles: Further leaves from the note book of a Canadian journalist*. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1928. Pp. xv, 429.

Reviewed on page 364.

- FORBIN, VICTOR. *Avec la liaison française au Canada: De Québec à Winnipeg* (Revue des deux mondes, November 15, 1927, pp. 329-355).

The diary of a member of the "Liaison française", a mission organized by *l'Action française*, which toured towns and villages in the western provinces settled by French Canadians from the province of Quebec. The diary describes in detail part of the tour, and is to be continued.

- HOSE, REGINALD E. *Prohibition or control? Canada's experience with the liquor problem, 1921-1927*. New York, London, and Toronto: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1928. Pp. viii, 132. (\$3.00.)

To be reviewed later.

- HURD, W. BURTON. *Is there a Canadian race?* (Queen's Quarterly, Autumn, 1928, pp. 615-627).

An interesting study of the composition of Canada's population.

- MCARTHUR, DUNCAN. *History of Canada*. Toronto: W. J. Gage and Co. 1927. Pp. viii, 536; illustrations; maps.

Reviewed on page 357.

- MACDONELL, LIEUT.-GEN. SIR ARCHIBALD. *The old red patch at the breaking of the Dro-court-Quéant line, the crossing of the Canal du Nord, and the advance on Cambrai, 30th Aug.-2nd Oct. 1918* (Canadian Defence Quarterly, July, 1927, pp. 388-396; October, 1928, pp. 7-19).

An account of the operations of the first division of the Canadian Corps during the fighting of August-September, 1918.

- MCGILLICUDDY, OWEN E. *Canada's first envoy* (North American Review, September 1928, pp. 257-264).

A sketch of the life of the Hon. Vincent Massey, Canada's first minister to the United States.

- MACKAY, ROBERT A. *The International Joint Commission between the United States and Canada* (American Journal of International Law, April, 1928, pp. 292-318).

A valuable survey of the work of the International Joint Commission.

- The new High Commissioner in Canada* (United Empire, August 1928, pp. 484-488).

Speeches at the Royal Canadian Institute luncheon in honour of the first High Commissioner in Canada for H. M. government in Great Britain.

- SMITH, WILLIAM. *The evolution of government in Canada*. With an introduction by A. G. Doughty. [Ottawa:] National Committee of the Diamond Jubilee of Confederation. 1928. Pp. 274.

Reviewed on page 358.

- TEVNAN, JAMES. *The call of the Dominions: a complete guide to the emigrant*. Manchester: Allied Newspapers, Limited. [1928.] Pp. 200; illustrations.

Immigration literature.

- THORNTON, SIR HENRY. *Canada's triple advantage* (United Empire, October, 1928, pp. 575-577).

An address by the president of the Canadian National Railways; delivered at the launching of the *Lady Drake*, one of the ships built for the service between Canada and the West Indies.

WALDEN, ARTHUR TREADWELL. *A dog-puncher on the Yukon*. Montreal: Louis Carrier and Co. 1928. Pp. xx, 289; illustrations.

Reviewed on page 363.

WALLACE, W. STEWART. *A first book of Canadian history*. Toronto: The Macmillan Co. 1928. Pp. viii, 246; illustrations; maps. (.30c.)

Reviewed on page 357.

WEAVER, EMILY P. *The book of Canada for young people*. Toronto: Doubleday, Doran and Gundy. 1928. Pp. 267; illustrations.

A child's history of Canada.

WILLIAMS, M. B. *Prince Albert National Park*. [Ottawa:] Department of the Interior. [1928.] Pp. 24.

An illustrated pamphlet on Canada's most recently established national park.

WITKE, CARL. *A history of Canada*. (Borzoï Historical Series). New York: Alfred A Knopf. 1928. Pp. xiv, 397, xviii; maps.

Reviewed on page 355.

III. PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL HISTORY

(1) The Maritime Provinces

INNES, LIEUT.-COL. ROBERT. *Nova Scotia: the garden gate of Canada* (United Empire, August, 1928, pp. 497-500).

A review of the numerous attractions of Nova Scotia by the provincial deputy minister of natural resources.

SNIDER, C. H. J. *Under the red jack: Privateers of the Maritime Provinces of Canada in the war of 1812*. Toronto: The Musson Book Company. [1928.] Pp. xii, 268; illustrations.

Reviewed on page 352.

(2) The Province of Quebec

BAYLIS, SAMUEL MATHESON. *Enchanting Métis* [Montreal:] 1928. Pp. ii, 18.

An attractive little sketch of the historical background and later development of the Métis.

MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. *Quelques sculpteurs Montréalais sous la domination française* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, septembre, 1928, pp. 538-540).

Notes on some artists or artisans of Montreal during the French régime.

— *Les chirurgiens de la région de Montréal sous le régime français* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, octobre, 1928, pp. 580-582).

New notes on some of the surgeons of Montreal under the French régime.

Noms des patriotes emprisonnés à Montréal pendant la rébellion de 1837-1838 (Bulletin des recherches historiques, octobre, 1928, pp. 616-622).

A list of the names of those imprisoned at Montreal during the rebellion of 1837-38, extracted from *Opinion Publique*, March 14, 1878.

ROY, P.-G. *La noblesse des Coulon de Villiers* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, octobre, 1928, pp. 577-579).

Notes on the origin of the family of Coulon de Villiers.

— *Un ami de l'auteur des "Anciens Canadiens"* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, octobre, 1928, pp. 583-585).

An account of the life of one Justin McCarthy (1786-1832), a friend and contemporary of Aubert de Gaspé.

— *La descendance de Coulon de Jumonville* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, novembre, 1928, pp. 658-660).

A genealogy.

ROY, P. G. *Abraham Martin dit l'Écossais et les plaines d'Abraham* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, septembre, 1928, pp. 568-570).

Notes on the settler after whom are named the Plains of Abraham.

——— *L'Île d'Orléans*. Publié par la Commission des Monuments Historiques de la province de Québec. Québec: Imprimé par Ls.-A. Proulx, Imprimeur du Roi. 1928. Pp. vii, 505; illustrations.

Reviewed on page 354.

——— *Quatre générations de Romain* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, septembre 1928, pp. 552-555).

The history of a French-Canadian family.

VATTIER, GEORGES. *Esquisse historique de la colonisation de la province de Québec (1608-1925)*. Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion. 1928. Pp. viii, 128.

——— *Essai sur la mentalité canadienne-française*. Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion. 1928. Pp. 384.

To be reviewed later.

(3) The Province of Ontario

BLACK, M. J. L. *Tales through the ages from the banks of the Kaministiquia* (Thunder Bay Historical Society, Twelfth Annual Report, 1921, pp. 8-11).

Historical stories for children.

CUMMINS, Captain J. F. *Notes on the military history of Toronto* (Canadian Defence Quarterly, July, 1928, pp. 478-485).

The first chapter of a history of the militia of Toronto.

Hudson's Bay Company claims in the Northwest (Washington Historical Quarterly, July, 1928, pp. 214-227).

Some letters which throw light on one of the serious diplomatic troubles following the treaty between Great Britain and the United States in 1846.

St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Williamstown, Ontario: *Report of the Centenary celebration, August 25 to September 2, 1912*. Cornwall: The Standard. 1916. Pp. 100.

A record of the ceremonies and papers read at the hundredth anniversary of a church established by the United Empire Loyalists.

(4) The Western Provinces

ANDERSON, J. R. *Hudson's Bay Company pioneers: Captain William Henry McNeill (1830-1875)*. (The Beaver, September, 1928, pp. 64-5).

A brief report of the life of the master of the H. B. ships the *Beaver* and *Mary Dare*.

[CANADA: DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR: GEOGRAPHIC BOARD OF CANADA.] *Place-names of Alberta*. Ottawa: The King's Printer. 1928. Pp. 138; map.

A compilation of the principal names of places in the province with interesting and historical associations.

"OBSERVER." *The Ku Klux Klan in Saskatchewan* (Queen's Quarterly, Autumn, 1928, pp. 592-602).

An account of the invasion of Saskatchewan by the Ku Klux Klan.

THOMAS, EDWARD HARPER. *Chinook dictionaries* (American Speech, February, 1928, pp. 182-185).

A fairly extensive bibliography of the Chinook jargon.

TRÉMAUDAN, A. H. DE. *Un page de l'histoire de la nation métisse dans l'ouest du Canada* (Canada Français, septembre, 1928, pp. 7-16).

An account of the massacre of Seven Oaks, from the point of view of the French half-breeds of the Red river valley.

IV. GEOGRAPHY, ECONOMICS, AND STATISTICS

ASSELIN, OLIVAR. *L'industrie dans l'économie du Canada français* (L'action canadienne-française, septembre, 1928, pp. 142-147).

An address setting forth the methods by which the economic and industrial resources of their country can be developed by French Canadians.

BROWN, GEORGE W. *The deepening of the St. Lawrence*. Reprinted by permission from the *Round Table*, September, 1928. [Toronto: the author. Pp. 20.]

A discussion of the St. Lawrence deep waterway project.

————— *The St. Lawrence waterway in the nineteenth century* (Queen's Quarterly, Autumn, 1928, pp. 628-642).

An account of the historical background of the St. Lawrence deepening project.

BURN, D. L. *Canada and the repeal of the Corn Laws* (Cambridge Historical Journal, vol. II, No. 3, 1928, pp. 252-272).

A detailed study of the effect of the repeal of the Corn Laws on Canadian trade and commerce.

DUGRÉ, ALEXANDRE. *Comment orienter l'émigration* (L'action canadienne-française, août, 1928, pp. 73-90).

In order to counteract emigration to the United States the writer believes that government assistance should be extended to Canadians to encourage them to colonize their own country.

FREEMAN, RALPH E. *Economics for Canadians*. Toronto, London and New York: Sir Isaac Pitman and Sons. n.d. Pp. xiv, 306.

To be reviewed later.

GAGNÉ, CHARLES. *Le crédit agricole* (L'action canadienne-française, septembre, 1928, pp. 142-147).

A dissertation on the advantages and disadvantages of agricultural credit.

GARNER, F. S. *In the wake of Simon Fraser* (The Beaver, September, 1928, pp. 66-7).

An appreciation of the Cariboo road section of the transprovincial highway of British Columbia.

GUNN, HUGH. *Captain James Cook, R.N.* (United Empire, October, 1928, pp. 569-574).

A sketch of Captain Cook's life, commemorating the two hundredth anniversary of his birth.

The Hydro-Electric Power Commission of Ontario: Its origin, administration and achievements. Toronto: The Hydro-Electric Power Commission of Ontario. 1928. Pp. iv, 39; illustrations.

The basic principles of the Commission discussed briefly, followed by a description of the chief developments of the "Hydro" system.

JONES, LL. RODWELL. *Some physical controls in the economic development of the Prairie Provinces* (Geography, Spring, 1928, 284-302).

An account of the economic development of the Prairie Provinces based on an analysis of geographical conditions.

LOGAN, HAROLD A. *The history of trade-union organization in Canada*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1928. Pp. xiv, 427. (\$4.00.)

Reviewed on page 359.

Power development on the Niagara River: Power plants of the Hydro-Electric Power Commission of Ontario. Toronto: The Hydro-Electric Power Commission of Ontario. 1928. Pp. 32; illustrations.

A few facts about Niagara power development.

- [SALE, CHARLES V.] *Henry Hudson, and the church of St. Ethelburga, the Virgin, within Bishopsgate* (The Beaver, September, 1928, pp. 56-7).

An historical address delivered at the dedication of the memorial window to Henry Hudson in the church of St. Ethelburga the Virgin.

- TANGHE, RAYMOND. *La géographie humaine de Montréal* (L'action canadienne-française, août, 1928, pp. 118-131).

A short sketch of the physical factors which have helped to make Montreal the leading city in Canada.

V. EDUCATIONAL AND RELIGIOUS HISTORY

- GOLDSTICK, ISIDORE. *Modern languages in the Ontario high school: a historical study.* (Reprinted from Modern Language Instruction in Canada, Vol. II, 1928.) Toronto: The University of Toronto Press. 1928. Pp. v, 30-245.

A historical review of the origin and development of the study of modern languages in the Ontario high schools, and its relation to the general history of education in the province.

- HEWITT, NORA. *Peeps at the Union Jack and other principal flags of the British Empire.* London: A. and C. Black. 1928. Pp. 65.

The story of the national flag told for children.

- LAPALME, AUGUSTE. *L'histoire à l'école rurale* (L'action canadienne-française, août, 1928, Pp. 98-109).

An outline of the way in which history should be taught in the country schools.

- SQUAIR, JOHN. *The autobiography of a teacher of French.* Toronto: The University of Toronto Press. 1928. Pp. ix, 292.

To be reviewed later.

- VOGEL, CLAUDE L. *The Capuchins in French Louisiana (1722-1766).* (Franciscan studies, No. 8, August, 1928). New York: Joseph F. Wagner, Inc. 1928. Pp. xxvi, 201. (\$1.50.)

The story of the missionary work of the Capuchins in Louisiana, under the direction of the vicar-general of the bishop of Quebec, from 1722-1766.

VI. ETHNOLOGY, ANTHROPOLOGY, AND ARCHAEOLOGY

(Contributed by Professor T. F. McIlwraith.)

- BARBEAU, MARIUS. *The downfall of Temlaham.* Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1928. Pp. xii, 253; illustrations.

Reviewed on page 360.

- BERG, L. (ed.). *The Pacific-Russian scientific investigations* (Academy of Sciences of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics, Leningrad, 1926, pp. 191).

A synopsis, with full bibliographic references, of the contributions made by Russians to scientific knowledge concerning Siberia and the North Pacific. Each chapter deals with one subject, and each is written by an authority on that subject. L. Sternberg writes (pp. 161-188) on ethnography, and summarizes the evidence of Russian influence in Alaska and northern British Columbia from the eighteenth century onwards.

- BERNARD, JESSIE. *Political leadership among North American Indians* (The American Journal of Sociology, Vol. XXXIV, No. 2, September, 1928, pp. 296-315).

Chieftainship among the Indians is here studied from its psychological rather than functional or anthropological aspects. Choosing thirty-six celebrated leaders, the authoress analyses and tabulates their characteristics as recorded by contemporary writers, and describes the methods by which these individuals rose to positions of eminence in communities where rank was non-hereditary.

BLOOMFIELD, LEONARD. *A note on sound-change* (Language, Vol. IV, No. 2, June 1928, pp. 99-100).

These phonetic studies among the Swampy Cree of Manitoba throw light on the probable history of sound shiftings in the Algonkian linguistic stock.

BOAS, FRANZ. *Two Eskimo riddles from Labrador* (Journal of American Folk-Lore, Vol. 39, Oct.-Dec., 1926 [issued June, 1928], p. 486).

The author quotes two riddles, collected at Hamilton Inlet in 1896, among the very few ever recorded in North America.

BURKE, EUSTELLA. *Indian dramatic masks* (Studio, Vol. 94, No. 417, Dec. 1927, pp. 417-419).

A condensed, but accurate account of the way in which ceremonial masks are used by the Indians of British Columbia, with reproductions of several specimens and of photographs showing them being worn.

BURROWS, ELIZABETH. *Eskimo tales* (Journal of American Folk-lore, Vol. 39, January, March, 1926 [issued December, 1927], pp. 79-81).

Abbreviated versions are here recorded of four Eskimo stories collected at Old Hamilton, Lower Yukon.

CADZOW, DONALD A. *Archaeological work with the Putnam Baffin Island Expedition* (Indian Notes, Vol. 5, No. 1, January, 1928, pp. 98-106).

After conducting brief archaeological investigations at a number of points along the Labrador coast, the author was able to spend several weeks at Cape Dorset, Baffin Island. Here were found two periods of Eskimo occupancy, the earlier—attributed by the natives to the Tuni—characterized by semi-subterranean stone and whalebone houses erected on an inland lake, and the later by stone houses on the shore of the ocean.

CAMERON, JOHN. *Correlations between cranial capacity and cranial length, breadth, and height, as studied in the Alaska Indian crania, United States National Museum* (American Journal of Physical Anthropology, Vol. XI, No. 2, January-March, 1928, pp. 290-299).

The variations among sixty-eight Alaskan skulls indicate greater racial mixture in this area than among the Eskimo. As in other brachycephalic peoples, there is a clear correlation between cranial capacity and cranial breadth.

Correlations between cranial capacity and cranial length, breadth, and height, as studied in the Greenland Eskimo crania, United States National Museum (American Journal of Physical Anthropology, Vol. XI, No. 2, January-March, 1928, pp. 259-268).

This study of sixty-eight Greenland Eskimo skulls, thirty-four male and thirty-four female, shows the high and remarkably uniform cranial capacity of the Eskimo, and confirms previous findings regarding a close correlation in dolichocephalic peoples between cranial capacity and cranial length of males, but not of females.

Correlations between cranial capacity and cranial length, breadth, and height, as studied in the St. Lawrence Island Eskimo crania, United States National Museum (American Journal of Physical Anthropology, Vol. XI, No. 2, January-March, 1928, pp. 269-279).

Sixty-eight western Eskimo skulls show a broadening of the head in comparison to eastern Eskimo, but otherwise indicate the homogeneity of the people; the series gives a higher correlation for cranial capacity to cranial length in males than in females.

- COOPER, JOHN M. *Northern Algonkian scrying and scapulimancy* (Festschrift P. W. Schmidt, Vienna, 1928, pp. 205-217).

Investigating personally in the field, the author found these two forms of divination among all Algonkian tribes from Lake St. John west to the sources of the Albany. Scrying, in the form of lecanomancy, is used to give warning of approaching enemies, scapulimancy chiefly for game. The distribution of the practices, as well as references to them as early as the *Jesuit Relations*, indicate that they were not introduced by Europeans.

- DAVIDSON, D. S. *Family hunting territories of the Waswanipi Indians of Quebec* (Indian Notes, Vol. 5, No. 1, January, 1928, pp. 42-59).

An account of land tenure among the little-known Waswanipi, based upon slight observations made in 1915 by Mr. Harry Cartlidge. Hunting areas apparently belong to patrilineal family groups, although they appear to be larger and less clearly defined than among the southern neighbours of the Waswanipi, the Tête de Boule and Grand Lake Victoria Indians.

Notes on Tête de Boule Ethnology (American Anthropologist, Vol. 30, No. 1, January-March, 1928, pp. 18-46).

This detailed study gives accurate information about the land tenure and political organization of the Tête de Boule, an important Algonkian-speaking people of Quebec. In addition, it contains a few valuable measurements, and some interesting observations on the present condition of the tribe.

- DAWSON, WARREN R. *Mummification in Australia and in America* (Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. LVIII, January-June, 1928, pp. 115-138).

By examination of specimens and by detailed study of the pertinent literature, the author shows the resemblances between the mummies of Australia, the Americas, and Egypt of the twenty-first dynasty.

- EMMONS, GEORGE T. "Wings" of Haida ceremonial canoes (Indian Notes, Vol. 5, No. 3, July, 1928, pp. 298-302).

For ceremonial purposes, the canoes of the Haida were sometimes decorated with movable, wooden flaps, frequently representing the mythical "sea-bear." Two such sets are described and illustrated in this article.

- FERGUSON, WILLIAM P. F. *Michipicoten* (Thirty-Fifth Annual Archaeological Report 1924-1925, being part of appendix to the Report of the Minister of Education, Ontario, Toronto, 1928, pp. 31-33).

The author gives reasons for the desirability of carrying out archaeological work on Michipicoten island, Lake Superior, in the hope of throwing light on the methods of copper mining and the lives of the miners in pre-Columbian days.

- FOSTER, MRS. W. GARLAND. *The graphic art of the Haidas* (Museum Notes, Vol. III, No. 1, March, 1928, pp. 5-8).

The Haida of the Queen Charlotte islands have long been famed for their skill in the working of wood and slate; this article illustrates and describes a carving of the latter material, the work of the late Edenshaw, the most celebrated Haida craftsman.

- GILLINGHAM, DONALD W. *The art of the Eskimo* (Museum Notes, Vol. III, No. 2, June, 1928, pp. 17-23).

This is a general account of the racial history of the Eskimo, with illustrations and comments on their art.

- GOODFELLOW, REV. JOHN C. *Pictographs of the Similkameen Valley of British Columbia* (Museum Notes, Vol. III, No. 2, June, 1928, pp. 14-16 and 23-24).

Fifteen Indian pictographs near the road between Princetown and Hedley are described in general terms, and one is reproduced. Most of the drawings, which are somewhat crude, include depictions of the human figure.

GUNTHER, ERNA. *A further analysis of the first salmon ceremony* (University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, Vol. 2, No. 5, pp. 129-173, June, 1928).

Ceremonials performed by Indians of the Pacific coast on taking the first salmon differ from tribe to tribe, the details being in accordance with their own ritual pattern. Similar variations in detail are shown in taboos and in myths respecting the fish.

— *Accretion in the folk-tales of the American Indians* (Folk-Lore, Vol. XXXVIII, No. 1, March, 1927 [published 1928], pp. 40-54).

By an analysis of folk-tales with reference to their distribution in western North America, the authoress indicates the way in which elements from diverse sources are merged into a single tale.

HEINEBECKER, PETER, and PAUL, RUTH H. *Blood grouping of the polar Eskimo* (Journal of Immunology, Vol. XIII, 1927, pp. 279-283).

Samples of the blood of one hundred and twenty-four Eskimo from North Greenland and Baffinland were collected. It was found that one hundred of these belonged to Group 1 (Landsteiner-Jansky), and that most of the remaining twenty-four were half-breeds.

HODGE, F. W. *Some portraits of Thayendanegea* (Indian Notes, Vol. 5, No. 2, April, 1928, pp. 207-217).

The portrait of Joseph Brant, the celebrated Mohawk chief, was painted on several occasions during his visits to England. These originals, as well as others made in America, have been much copied; in this article the author records details of the Ames portrait, made in Albany in 1805.

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY. *HBC historical exhibit guide*. Winnipeg: 1928. Pp. 12.

This leaflet describing an exhibit in the Hudson's Bay Company's Winnipeg store contains a brief summary of the mode of life of the Indians in each of the culture areas of Canada.

IMBELLONI, J. *La première chaîne isoglossématique océano-américaine* (Festschrift P. W. Schmidt, Vienna, 1928, pp. 324-335).

Variants of the word *toki* are used widely in the Pacific to signify *stone axe*; the author compares the terms for the same tool among the Araucanians of Chili and the Argentine, and among several tribes of British Columbia. He concludes that the resemblances in terminology are too great to be fortuitous.

JAMES, EDWIN OLIVER. *Cremation and the preservation of the dead in North America* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 30, No. 2, April-June, 1928, pp. 214-242).

The distributions of these two diametrically opposed types of disposal of the dead have been worked out in detail, with sufficient quotations to make clear the exact details. The author discusses probable origins, and a possible connection between cremation and a celestial home of the dead.

JENNESS, D. *Archaeological investigations in Bering Strait, 1926* (Annual Report for 1926, Bulletin No. 50, National Museum of Canada, Ottawa, 1928, pp. 71-80).

As a result of preliminary archaeological and linguistic investigations in Alaska and the Diomed islands, the author concludes that the Eskimo of the Bering Strait area developed a distinctive culture, perhaps influenced by the Chukchee of Siberia and by the Indians of the Yukon.

- JENNESS, D. *The National Museum of Canada* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 30, No. 1, January-March, 1928, pp. 178-180).

This preliminary account of archaeological investigation in Newfoundland indicates certain affinities between the tools of the extinct Beothuk and that phase of Eskimo culture found in the vicinity of Hudson Strait and previously described by the author as "Dorset."

- JOHNSON, FREDERICK. *The Algonquin at Golden Lake, Ontario* (Indian Notes, Vol. 5, No. 2, April, 1928, pp. 173-178).

This is a brief description of a little known southern Algonquin band living near the Iroquois who have influenced their material culture.

- KERMODE, FRANCIS. *Report of the Provincial Museum of Natural History for the year 1927*. Victoria, B.C. 1928. Pp. 22.

The list of accessions to the British Columbia Provincial Museum contains a large number of Indian objects from that province. They are described briefly, and the tribe recorded in each case.

- KISSELL, MARY LOIS. *The early geometric patterned Chilkat* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 30, No. 1, January-March, 1928, pp. 116-120).

It is pointed out that a few of the early Chilkat blankets were decorated with geometric instead of conventionalized animal designs. The techniques employed in several early robes are described, and the need for technological research emphasized.

- KRICKEBERG, WALTER. *Malereien auf ledernen zeremonialkleidern der Nordwestamerikaner* (Ipek, Bd. 1, 1925).

The painting of designs upon skin clothing was formerly practised by some of the interior tribes of Northern British Columbia, and by a few of the coastal peoples.

- LAIDLAW, Col. G. E. *Ojibwa myths and tales* (Thirty-Fifth Annual Archaeological Report 1924-1925, being part of appendix to the Report of the Minister of Education, Ontario, Toronto, 1928, pp. 34-80).

This is a series of seventy Ojibwa stories; some are brief and modern, but many are typical animal and witch legends of considerable antiquity. Especially interesting are several which appear to have come from the vicinity of Hudson Bay.

- LEECHMAN, DOUGLAS. *Native Canadian art of the west coast* (Studio, Vol. 96, No. 428, Nov., 1928, pp. 331-333).

This is a brief account of the art of the coastal tribes of British Columbia as displayed, in conjunction with the work of modern artists, at an exhibition arranged by the National Gallery of Canada. Illustrations show the conventionalized, almost symbolic, animal motifs characteristic of the native craftsmen whether employed in wood, stone, bone or wool.

- MACLEOD, W. C. "Jumping over" from West Africa to South America (American Anthropologist, Vol. 30, No. 1, January-March, 1928, pp. 107-111).

The practice of jumping or stepping across a woman's legs, over a corpse, a grave or other object is found sporadically in the Americas, and always with sociological significance. The author wonders whether it can be associated with an ancient Eur-African rite.

Some social aspects of aboriginal American slavery (Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, Tome XIX, 1927, pp. 123-128).

Among the coastal peoples of British Columbia, slaves constituted a distinct, involuntarily endogamous class, who could gain admission to tribal society neither for themselves nor for their children. They could be ill-treated or sacrificed by their masters, though membership in the same totemic group occasionally led to their redemption.

MASON, J. ALDEN. *A remarkable stone lamp from Alaska* (The Museum Journal, June, 1928, pp. 170-194).

Three stone lamps, each portraying a human body rising from the bowl, have been unearthed near Seward, Alaska. The style is unlike that of the modern Eskimo, but the author gives reasons for thinking that the specimens represent a peculiar development, perhaps due to contact with Indians or Asiatics.

MATHIASSEN, THERKEL. *Archaeology of the central Eskimos*. Report of the fifth Thule Expedition 1921-1924, Vol. IV, Part 1. Copenhagen. 1927. Pp. 332.

To be reviewed later.

The Thule culture and its position within the Eskimo culture.

Report of the fifth Thule Expedition 1921-1924, Vol. IV, Part 2. Copenhagen. 1927. Pp. 208.

To be reviewed later.

MCILWRAITH, T. F. *An unusual Indian shell "pendant"* (Bulletin of the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology, No. 7, March 1928, pp. 12-13).

A brief description is here given of a circular, perforated shell object, presumably of ceremonial or religious significance, found on the outskirts of Toronto.

Certain beliefs of the Bella Coola Indians concerning animals (Thirty-Fifth Annual Archaeological Report) 1924-1925, being part of appendix to the Report of the Minister of Education, Ontario, Toronto, 1928, pp. 17-27).

Animals, both real and mythical, figure prominently in the religious beliefs of the Bella Coola, a coastal tribe of central British Columbia. This article comprises a classification of supernatural animals, followed by a description of the powers which the natives believe to be possessed by all non-human creatures.

MOORE, RILEY D. *Note on St. Lawrence Island* (American Anthropologist Vol. 30, No. 2, April-June, 1928, pp. 349-350).

This is a brief note of the manner in which the Eskimo of St. Lawrence Island record the lengths of tools, etc. in terms of measurements corresponding to distances from part to part of the human body.

MORICE, A. G. *Disparus et survivants: Essai XIII: Algonquins du Canada* (Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Québec, Vol. 21, No. 5, déc. 1927, pp. 277-297).

This article gives a general account of the principal Algonkian-speaking peoples of Canada, compiled from a wide range of authorities.

Disparus et survivants: Essai XIV: les Algonquins aux points de vue sociologique et historique and *Essai XV: biographies algonquines* (Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Québec, Vol. 22, Numbers 1 and 2, jan.-mai 1928, pp. 4-42).

The author continues his account of the widely distributed Algonkian-speaking peoples with somewhat disconnected observations upon *windigo* beliefs, sign language, and music, followed by an account of King Philip's War and descriptions of the careers of several famous chiefs.

Disparus et survivants: Essai XVI: les Dénés du nord and *Essai XVII: vers le sud et dans le sud, les Dénés méridionaux* (Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Québec, Vol. 22, No. 3, juin-sept. 1928, pp. 146-190).

The first of these essays gives an admirable summary of the Northern Athabascans (Dénés) among whom Father Morice has lived and worked and studied for twenty-five years; the second deals with the probable racial history of the Athabaskan-speaking peoples generally, and describes the life of the tribes of that linguistic stock resident in the western United States.

MORICE, A. G. *The fur trader in anthropology: and a few related questions* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 30, No. 1, January-March, 1928, pp. 60-84).

This is a continuation of the somewhat heated correspondence between Mr. W. C. MacLeod and Father Morice on the question of cremation among the Sékanais (Sikanni). After pointing out the unreliability of information recorded by Harmon and McLean, fur-traders of the early nineteenth century, the author emphasizes the receptiveness and nomadism of the Sékanais, and concludes with a vigorous statement, based on his researches in the field, that they did not burn their dead.

NATIONAL GALLERY OF CANADA. *Exhibition of Canadian West Coast art*. Ottawa. December, 1927. Pp. 16.

This is a descriptive catalogue of ethnological specimens, wood-carving, canoes, costumes, utensils, etc. from British Columbia, displayed in an exhibition at the National Gallery of Canada, where the native crafts were shown in conjunction with paintings of West Coast scenes by Canadian artists. The booklet contains a general account of the significance of the art by Mr. C. M. Barbeau.

New accessions to Museum (Thirty-Fifth Annual Archaeological Report 1924-1925, being part of appendix to the Report of the Minister of Education, Ontario, Toronto, 1928, pp. 84-106).

This well-illustrated list of important recent acquisitions to the Provincial Museum gives much valuable information about Ontario archaeology.

OETTERING, BRUNO. *The skeletal remains of American Indians in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg, Germany* (Indian Notes, Vol. 5, No. 1, January, 1928, pp. 79-92).

The author has recorded the principal measurements of the Indian material preserved in this museum; noteworthy are two Blood skulls from Alberta showing protruding occipita.

OLSON, RONALD L. *Adze, canoe, and house types of the northwest coast* (University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, Vol. 2, No. 1, November, 1927, pp. 1-38).

The distributions of various types of adzes, canoes, and houses among the coastal tribes from Alaska to California have been worked out in considerable detail, and accurately plotted. The results indicate that central British Columbia is the region in which these elements of culture reach their highest development, but that special techniques have developed in other areas as well.

OLLER, R.B. *The religion of our pre-Columbian Indians* (Thirty-Fifth Annual Archaeological Report 1924-1925, being part of appendix to the Report of the Minister of Education, Ontario, Toronto, 1928, pp. 9-16).

This is a general account of the religious beliefs of several Canadian tribes, emphasizing the importance of their convictions upon the daily life of the people. Extracts from little-known writings of early travellers enhance the value of the article.

PACIFIQUE, F. *Le pays des Micmacs* (Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Québec, Vol. 22, Nos. 1 and 2, jan.-mai 1928, pp. 43-55 and Vol. 22, No. 3, juin-sept. 1928, pp. 140-145).

The author has collected a large number of the geographical names used by the Micmac for localities in north-eastern New Brunswick and south-eastern Quebec; these are accurately recorded, and the meanings translated into English.

PARSONS, ELSIE CLEWS. *Micmac notes* (Journal of American Folk-Lore, Vol. 39, Oct.-Dec., 1926 [issued June, 1928], pp. 460-485).

This is a series of miscellaneous notes on the Micmac of Nova Scotia, including valuable data on kinship terminology, and a few facts about family life, medicine, games, and other native customs still surviving among the very mixed population.

PEABODY, CH. *Red paint* (Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, Tome XIX, 1927, pp. 207-244).

This is an exhaustive survey of the use in mortuary rites by primitive peoples of red paint. Sufficiently striking to have become the chief criterion of a peculiar culture in Maine, the practice is almost world wide, and its meaning must be sought in connection with colour and religious symbolism.

RENAUD, E. B. *L'antiquité de l'homme dans l'Amérique du nord* (L'Anthropologie, Tome XXVIII, No. 1-2, 1928, pp. 23-49).

The author reviews the evidence for man's presence in North America prior to the close of the Ice Age, basing his conclusions upon the discovery of human artifacts in layers of geological antiquity in association with extinct animals.

SMITH, DOROTHY A. and SPIER, LESLIE. *The dot and circle design in Northwestern America* (Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, Tome XIX, 1927) pp. 47-55).

The well-known Eskimo decoration consisting of a dot surrounded by a circle is shown to have an almost continuous distribution in British Columbia and the northern Pacific states, but actually to be sporadic among the Eskimo elsewhere than in Alaska where, of course, it is marginal to its main centre.

SMITH, HARLAN I. *A list of petroglyphs in British Columbia* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 29, No. 4, October-December, 1927, pp. 605-610).

The author gives a list of the petroglyphs of British Columbia, arranged geographically from northwest to southeast, the exact location being recorded as accurately as possible. A bibliography and a copy of the "Historic Objects Preservation Act" is appended.

A pictograph on the lower Skeena river, British Columbia (American Anthropologist, Vol. 29, No. 4, October-December, 1927, pp. 611-614).

In 1925 the pictograph here described was found about twenty-eight miles from Prince Rupert. It represents seven "coppers" (ceremonial plaques), painted in reddish brown, the whole being about twenty feet long.

Restoration of totem-poles in British Columbia (Annual Report for 1926, Bulletin No. 50, National Museum of Canada, Ottawa 1928, pp. 81-83).

The author describes the methods used to repair and repaint totem-poles remaining *in situ* in British Columbia, in order to preserve native art and to attract visitors.

SPECK, FRANK G. *Culture problems in northeastern North America* (Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, Vol. LXV, 1926, pp. 272-311).

The author, as a result of extensive field work in Ontario, Quebec, and Labrador, indicates the importance of the northeastern Algonkian-speaking peoples as illustrating the manner in which culture can be transmitted and adapted from tribe to tribe.

Divination by scapulimancy among the Algonquin of River Desert, Quebec (Indian Notes, Vol. 5, No. 2, April, 1928, pp. 167-173).

Among the methods of divination of the wandering River Desert Algonquin is that of exposing the shoulder blades of deer, or sheep, to the flames and foretelling what is to take place by means of the cracks that appear. Similar use of the pelvic bone of the beaver is employed as an aid in hunting, and other methods of divination are also found.

SPECK, FRANK G. *Eskimo carved ivories from northern Labrador* (Indian Notes, Vol. 4, No. 4, October, 1927, pp. 309-314).

This is a description, with illustrations, of five walrus tusks, carved by the Eskimo of northern Labrador. The style is distinctive since each tusk shows a group of animals, instead of the single representation usually considered characteristic of Eskimo art. The prevalence of dot decoration is another peculiarity of the set.

— *Symbolism in Penobscot art* (Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XXIX, 1927, pp. 25-80).

The interpretations here presented of the significance of double-curve and floral motifs among the Penobscot of Maine throw light upon two of the most common designs of northeastern Canada.

STEFANSSON, VILHJALMUR. *The "Blond" Eskimos* (Harper's Magazine, Vol. 156, Jan., 1928, pp. 191-198).

The controversy about the fair complexioned Eskimo of the Coronation Gulf region has raged since 1912 when newspaper reporters first used the term "Blond" in their reports of an interview with Stefansson. The author here deals with the probable history of the people, summarizing the evidence for their descent from the lost Greenland colony of the Middle Ages, and disclaims the rôle of their discoverer by citing references to them from the seventeenth century onwards.

TEIT, JAMES A. *Story of Bear* (Journal of American Folk-Lore, Vol. 39, Oct.-Dec., 1926 [issued June, 1928], pp. 450-459).

A long and logical story of the adventures of Bear, recorded from an Indian living near Spences Bridge, southern British Columbia. This legend is said to have been current for many years, and is interesting owing to the way in which references to modern methods have been assimilated to the native folk-lore pattern.

— *The middle Columbia Salish* (University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, Vol. 2, No. 4, pp. 83-128, June, 1928).

In this account of the little known interior Salish of northern Washington, there are many references to their neighbours and kinsmen, the Thompson of southern British Columbia.

THOMAS, WILLIAM A. *Health of a carnivorous race* (Journal of the American Medical Association, Vol. 88, No. 20, 1927, pp. 1559-1560).

The diet of the Eskimo of north Greenland consists of meat, fish, and birds; vegetables are unprocurable, and lack of firewood prevents cooking of the food. Physical examinations of many natives, and a study of the data collected by competent physicians, prove that scurvy and rickets are unknown, while renal and vascular diseases are relatively rare. In Labrador, where the natives subsist largely on imported cereals and dried or canned vegetables, and where meat is usually cooked, scurvy and rickets are almost universal. The Mongolian spot was found on almost all Eskimo children.

UHLENBECK, C. C. *De afwezigheid der datief-conceptie in het Blackfoot* (Apud Bibliopolam Gebethner and Wolff, 1927).

A careful statement concerning this grammatical form among the Blackfoot of Alberta.

— *Het emphatisch gebruik van relatief-pronominale uitgangen in het Blackfoot* (Festschrift P. W. Schmidt, Vienna 1928, pp. 148-156).

A scholarly article describing, with many examples, a peculiar element of speech found among the Blackfoot.

V[ERNEAU], R. *Une race qui disparaît* (L'Anthropologie, Tome XXXVIII, No. 1-2, 1928, pp. 214-215).

The death of the supposedly last Micmac introduces a brief description of the customs of this tribe of Nova Scotia, followed by a series of observations upon the decrease in population among the Indians generally.

WINTENBERG, W. J. *The technique of certain aboriginal cords* (Thirty-Fifth Annual Archaeological Report 1924-1925, being part of appendix to the Report of the Minister of Education, Ontario, Toronto, 1928, pp. 28-30).

Vegetable materials from pre-Columbian sites in Ontario are rare, but information concerning Iroquois and Tobacco Nation cord can be gleaned by studying pipe stems, since the clay was sometimes modelled around a string which, though consumed in burning, has left its indelible impression. This method of study, applied to eighteen specimens, indicates that the usual cord was made of two separate strands.

WOODWARD, ARTHUR. *The "Long Knives"* (Indian Notes, Vol. 5, No. 1, January, 1928, pp. 64-79).

Much speculation has arisen concerning the origin of the term "Long Knives" (or "Big Knives") by which the Americans were known to many Indian tribes during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The writer shows that this term originated in 1684, when Lord Howard of Effingham, governor of Virginia, was given an Indian name by the Iroquois. They endeavoured to translate *Howard*, and, when an ignorant Dutch interpreter informed them that it was connected with the Dutch word *houwer*, a cutlass, they conferred the native equivalent of this designation on him. By extension, it was applied to all Virginians, and in time to Americans generally.

WOOLEY, H. J. L. *The passing of the Hurons* (Willison's Monthly, Vol. 3, No. 8, January, 1928, pp. 303-304).

A confirmation is here given of Parkman's view that to unpreparedness was due the annihilation of the Hurons by the Iroquois. This fact is clearly shown, but the article gives little evidence of knowledge of Indian psychology.

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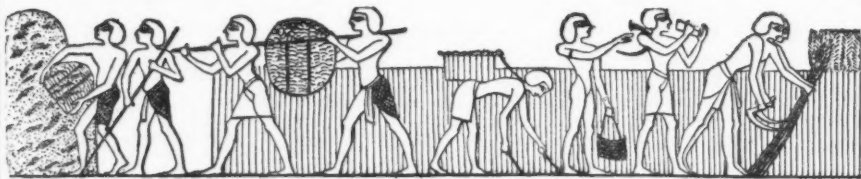
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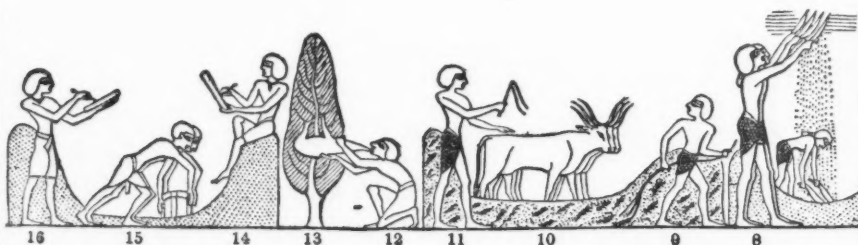
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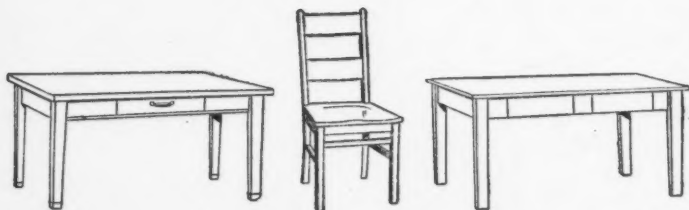
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